SPEECHES, MESSAGES AND STATEMENTS

OF

MADAR-I-MILLAT
MOHTARAMA FATIMA JINNAH

(1948-1967)

Collected and Edited

By

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RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN

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FOREWORD

The Research Society of Pakistan, apart from other source material, has so far published the following books which have a close bearing on the foundation of Pakistan :

1. Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.
2. Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan.
3. Jinnah-Irwin Correspondence.
4. Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement.
5. Malik Barkat Ali—His Life and Writings.
6. A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab.
7. Emergence of Pakistan by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali.
8. The Task Before Us by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali.
9. Speeches and Statements of Chaudhri Muhammad Ali

All these publications have been well received by the students and scholars of the history of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. Some of these have gone into the second impression. The Research Society of Pakistan is presenting another volume of this chain of historical literature, namely, the Speeches, Messages and Statements of Miss Fatima Jinnah, the revered and respected sister of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and hopes that its publication will help in providing more information about this period.

The Research Society is grateful to Khan Salahuddin Khan for collecting and editing the material for the books (1)The Task Before Us (2) Speeches and Statements of Chaudhri Muhammad Ali and (3) Speeches, Messages and Statements of Miss Fatima Jinnah.

The Diary and the Letters of Sir Fazl-i-Husain are already in the Press and the Jinnah-Linlithgow Correspondence will shortly go to the press.

LAHORE
November 30, 1975

DR. M. JAHANGIR KHAN,
Director, Research Society of
Pakistan, Lahore.

PREFACE

For all those who had faith in the ideology of Pakistan and who took part in the Pakistan Movement, Madar-i-Millat Miss Fatima Jinnah was the most respected person next to the Quaid-i-Azam and to say that the brother and the sister were made of the same stuff would not be an overstatement.

The day, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali and other leaders of the Combined Opposition Parties succeeded in persuading the Quaid's sister to contest the 1964 Presidential Election as COP's Candidate against Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, would go down in the annals of Pakistan as a historic one.

People all over the world marvelled at her exceptional courage and determination. She provided fresh vigour to the Pakistani nation and tried her best to make them understand and relearn their long forgotten duties and rights as citizens of a State founded on the Islamic ideology.

The Quaid did not live long enough to guide his people and to help them in solving the numerous problems that had arisen with the birth of Pakistan. But his devoted sister, who had lived a life time with her illustrious brother and had known the political, economic and social order that the Quaid desired to introduce in Pakistan to make it an Islamic state, decided to undertake and to carry out in letter and spirit what she had learnt and to make a serious attempt to mould the destinies of the young country. She did not miss any opportunity to guide the nation to the right path and to warn her people of the pitfalls ahead. Her determination, against heavy odds, shook the foundations of a firm dictatorship and her example paved the way for democratic traditions in the country. Her dignity, forbearance and enthusiasm were examplary.

For twenty long years after her revered brother's death she continued her mission of educating the people of Pakistan about the Quaid-i-Azam's views on matters vital to the interests of Pakistan with remarkable lucidity in her speeches, messages and statements of which this volume is comprised. She repeatedly and persistently pointed the maladies that were developing in our Society and suggested ways and means of overcoming them.

As a humble worker of the Quaid-i-Azam in the Pakistan Movement, and of the Madar-i-Millat during her Presidential Election Campaign of 1964, I feel a sense of fulfilment of a duty in collecting and editing these speeches, messages and statements of Madar-i-Millat for the Research Society of Pakistan. The Research Society of Pakistan deserves the gratitude of the people of Pakistan for preserving these historical documents.

I would like to end this Preface in the words of the Madar-i-Millat "before I conclude, I must tell you that we are passing through very critical times. The supreme interests of the country demand that every one should curb personal ambition and dedicate himself to the cause of the integrity and stability of Pakistan".

SALAHUDDIN KHAN.

86, Ata Turk Avenue.
Islamabad.
November 15, 1975

CONTENTS

1956

1957

1965

1. SPEECH AT CURZON HALL, DACCA, 1948

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the meeting of the Dacca District Zenana Muslim League held at Curzon Hall, Dacca in March, 1948.

(*Editor*)

"Do not be swept away by new slogans and leaders who had a doubtful past. Do not fritter away your time and energy in encouraging or participating in mushroom parties and organisations.

You all know that after the division of India what sufferings and trials Muslims had to go through. A well planned onslaught on the new born State of Pakistan in its very inception was a heavy blow. But it is gratifying to note that the people bore it with fortitude and courage unparalleled in the history of the world. In that hour of trial the women of Pakistan played their part and contributed their full share by working day and night for the relief of the sick and the wounded, finding the parents of children who got separated in the massacre, getting food and clothes for the refugees and arranging accommodation for them.

So in the face of this bitter opposition our new State of Pakistan came into existence and has now come to stay and no power on earth can undo it. Remember we had to begin from scratch and build up something from nothing.

It is in reconstruction and building up that you have to contribute your share. In doing that you will have to undergo many inconveniences and you will have to make many sacrifices. But you must bear it with patience. It is worthwhile going through these difficulties as this generation will go down into history as the pioneers who laid down the foundations of this country.

PROPER SHARE

Let it not therefore be said that the women of Pakistan were indifferent and did not contribute their proper share in the building up of the State as they should and could have done. I am confident that the women of East Pakistan will not lag behind in contributing their share of work as compared to women in other part of Pakistan.

Women can do a great deal in the social and economic uplift of the country. For instance, so many uneconomic and un-Islamic customs have

crept in our societies which would be done away with. We should follow the true Islamic culture and traditions which are so simple and dignified. You can help to revive those traditions which you were made to forget without your realising that you were gradually giving them up.

In this sphere it is the duty of women to inculcate in the children at their tender age the true value of Islamic culture and the teachings of Islam.

NEEDS OF PAKISTAN

Another important and urgent work of construction in which women should take their proper share is in the field of higher education both in the medical line and in arts. One of the most crying needs of this province particularly and Pakistan in general is for doctors, nurses and teachers for running women hospitals and schools and colleges.

NATIONAL GUARDS

I congratulate you on the fine start which you have made here in Dacca in raising the Pakistan Women's National Guard. Your contingent is small at present but I have seen that it has been tackling its work with enthusiasm and zeal and I am confident that this example will attract increasing numbers of new recruits so that your one platoon will rapidly expand into several companies.

I would like to impress on you most strongly that joining the Women's National Guards is one of the best ways by which we women can play a role of importance in building up Pakistan.

PERSONAL CONTACTS

There is one more point to which I would like to refer. In order to create personal contact with each other, it is essential that women in East and West Pakistan should meet as often as possible and interchange ideas. Therefore some of you should try and visit us in West Pakistan and some of us from there should visit you here. This will help in working ceaselessly for the benefit of the State in one united voice.

Finally, let me sound a word of warning—a word of advice. Do not be swept away by new slogans and leaders who had a doubtful past. Do not fritter away your time and energy in encouraging or participating in mushroom parties and organisations. Strengthen the Muslim League Party from within and give all your help and do your utmost for its solidarity. Let me end by saying that with faith, unity and discipline there is nothing that you cannot achieve and the salvation of our country and nation lies in that. Pakistan Zindabad."

2. ADDRESS TO ALL-PAKISTAN MUSLIM YOUTH CONVENTION AT KARACHI, 1948

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's address delivered at the opening session of the All-Pakistan Muslim Youth Convention which was held at the Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi, in November, 1948. This was Miss Jinnah's first public appearance after the death of Quaid-i-Azam.

(Editor)

"It is just a year ago that I had appealed to the youth of Pakistan men and women to come forward and contribute their share in building of this infant State. I am glad to be present today among you to see that wish of mine realised and I congratulate you on your forming the All-Pakistan Muslim Youth Convention.

It has been my firm conviction that the youth of today should so mould themselves as to be able to carry on their shoulders the burdens and responsibilities of the State. Before the attainment of Pakistan the youth of the country had to put up a tough fight for the achievement of our goal. Now that Freedom has been won you will have to bear heavy burdens on your shoulders and direct all your energies towards chalking out a well-considered nation-building programme.

In your pamphlet which you have given me I find that you have formed this organization which lays emphasis on the real values of life which is so essential today. I also note that you say Pakistan should be based on the principles of democracy. This word is seldom understood in the sense in which it ought to be.

Democracy pre-supposes the existence of a certain intellectual, cultural, economic and physical level among the people who want government of the people by the people for the people where every one will have equal opportunities for development on the basis of equality, fairplay and justice—where man cannot exploit man for his own ends.

True democracy requires that people will so equip themselves as to put men in position who are selected on the basis of their service to the people and this requires very close study and a vigilant watch over day-to-day happenings

in the country without getting lost in the pursuit of matters which are of no consequence either to oneself or to the State.

Economic well-being is of major importance to every country in the present state of world affairs. A state to be really independent and sovereign has first to achieve economic independence without which it cannot progress nor can it command any respect from other nations. Fortunately Providence has endowed Pakistan with an abundant supply of almost every type of raw material that a country needs.

A vast prosperity of the land has yet remained buried under the earth. We must make an all out effort to accelerate the pace of the economic development. Unless we tap all our potential resources and modernise our methods it is not possible to speed up our industrial progress with which is ultimately linked our prosperity and prospects.

The standard of living of the common man must be our greatest concern. He must not be allowed to be further exploited. You will remember Quaid-i-Azam in his address to the youth of Islamia College, Peshawar, early this year, stressed on the great need of understanding the importance of bringing about economic self-sufficiency among individuals and the nation as a whole. He had appealed to the youth to give up the idea of obtaining degrees with a view of joining Government service only but divert their attention to trade and industry the development of which is an urgent need today.

We must grip with realities, organize, consolidate and co-ordinate our activities and forces as one solid and disciplined nation on its march to progress. We must organize our society on healthy Islamic lines, shake off all those antiquated impediments in our way of the achievement of the cherished goal of our Quaid-i-Azam to make our country one of the most powerful States of the world.

Pakistan has to make great contribution to the world, in general and Islamic World, in particular. Ignorance, social and educational backwardness will stand as obstacles in our way to progress unless they are firmly, boldly and effectively dealt with. This vast problem can be tackled by the youth and their contribution in this respect alone can help the State to liquidate the obstacles in a very short time.

Political slogans are meaningless today. Time for slogans is gone, it is time for constructive action and ceaseless and constant endeavour. Relentless pursuit to our cause is the surest way. Let not the youth fail.

Highest character and integrity must be developed and all personal ambitions must be erased for the common good of the nation. Corruption, bribery, nepotism must be banished from the State with a firm hand to enable democracy to function for the weal of the people.

Islamic democracy with its high moral code can alone play its part for the amelioration of the lot of the common man. It is for the youth to plunge into national service selflessly, relentlessly and rewrite the glorious chapter of radiant Islamic history.

Corruption. bribery, nepotism, which are the legacy of the past, must be rooted out of the State, ere long, in a determined effort to eradicate the virus from the body politic of our State. This barrier between the people and their prosperity must be removed immediately. I appeal to the youths to play their part gloriously and with a will.

I made an appeal a few weeks ago for woollen and other articles which were urgently needed during the cold weather. I am grateful for the wonderful response I received to my appeal and I hope more help will be forthcoming from all of you here and others outside."

3. SPEECH ON IQBAL DAY IN GOL BAGH, LAHORE, 1949

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech on the eve of Iqbal Day celebrations at the Gol Bagh, Lahore in April, 1949.

(*Editor*)

"I have to thank the organisers of this function for enabling me to participate in the celebrations of Iqbal anniversary here in Lahore today. I had the privilege of knowing Sir Muhammad Iqbal personally for some time. To be able therefore to be in your midst to honour the memory of one of our greatest contemporaries is a matter of great satisfaction and honour to me.

Dr. Iqbal captured the imagination of the multitudes around him and abroad, during his life-time and swayed their hearts even on the extinction of his life.

Exactly 11 years ago his mortal frame passed away from our midst but he has left an unparishable message and mission before us and before the generations to come.

VERSATILE GENIUS

Dr. Iqbal was a versatile genius who touched everything with success. He is a poet, politician and philosopher, a lawyer and linguist, an art critic, educationalist and teacher. His gifted genius has successfully adapted itself to his various interests and has left impression on human minds. His towering personality has left mark of success in every field, he entered, whether as a Professor of Arabic literature in England, or of Philosophy and English literature in India, or as the President of the Muslim League, or a practising lawyer, or whether as an Urdu or Persian poet, or a prose writer on diverse subjects like Economics, Philosophy or Politics.

POETIC GIFTS

Iqbal's greatness is no doubt in several spheres but his ability as a poet springs supermost. Amir Shakaib Arselan has described him as the greatest thinker produced by the Muslim World during the last thousand years. His poetic gifts have been of such high order that his place in literature is certainly

amongst the greatest in the world. He holds the same place in the line of the world's greatest poets as has been held by Homer, Jalaluddin Rumi, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and Goethe. The poetry of Iqbal is a contribution to the human thought and an embodiment of a definite mission and a message that is at once noble and invigorating. He describes the past, contrasts it with the present, and casts a glance towards the future. Seldom does he express despondency in life and its adversities. He sees a way out and to him the life is synonymous with persistent and vigorous actions. His is not a poetry of refuge or inaction but it is a message of action. His message of action is a very kernel of Philosophy, which his dynamic poetry has left behind. Today more than any time, it is necessary during the formative period of our nation to cling to this philosopby with persistence and perseverance. Any deviation on our part from this Philosophy of action would not be in keeping with our affection and respect for Dr. Iqbal. The life of a human being is a struggle; the life of a nation no less. The struggle of persistence and perseverance which leads a human being to success must be an inspiring lesson to the nation as a whole for a determined and a persistent effort is coming with determination and courage out of the adversities, however great they may be for a nation.

PHILOSOPHY OF EGO

Iqbal's philosophy of ego was based on this doctrine. He did not encourage men to run away from the difficulties of life, instead he desired them to grapple them with courage. To him life was worth living and striving for. The "Momin" of Iqbal was the super man who embodied in him Iqbal's philosophy of ego and action. In one of his messages to him, Quaid-i-Azam described Iqbal as a friend, guide and philosopher and added, "during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go, he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment."

During the recent upheaval you were faced with great danger. Every man, woman, and child came forward and faced the situation with wonderful courage and fortitude and came out of the crucible of fire successfully and proved to the world that Pakistan cannot be annihilated. Few months later, conditions improved and people were preparing to settle down. Unfortunately enemies of Pakistan began to work in a very subtle manner and dissensions and disruptions were created and unity which is the bulwark of the strength of the nation, gradually destroyed and the result is the present state of frustration. I want you to find out the reasons for this disease which is eating into the body politics of this Province and which is responsible for the present state of affairs and then only the remedy can be found and the disease cured. Pakistan was founded so that people of the land could shape their destiny

according to their own aspirations and ambitions. If a share in the Government of the land could have sufficed to appease the people, the idea of distinctive territorial entity would not have taken roots and fructified. The people of Pakistan must realize and ponder over this basic factor. My fervent appeal to you is to forget the past, shake off this state of frustration and rise once again to the occasion and shoulder your responsibilities which you are called upon to bear as free people and contribute your share towards building up of Pakistan.

DEFINITE LEAD

Before the Partition, Muslim League was the only representative and authoritative organization of the Musalmans under whose banner the Musalmans rallied round and achieved the goal of Pakistan. The word Muslim League is almost synonymous with Pakistan. The two cannot be separated. Muslim League has been reorganised and All-Pakistan Muslim League has been formed. The work of the League is somewhat different, and I want the people to think and ponder over and chalk out a line on which the organization should work. A definite lead must be given so that it inspires the confidence and trust of the people, and people may rally round it. Pakistan and League organizations are both sacred trusts and legacy left by the late Quaid-i-Azam to the people of Pakistan and I am confident that you will play your part nobly and will not fail to do your duty toward both. Remember League is a democratic mass organization and it is for the people to choose and select their representatives. Therefore join the League, do not be afraid of it, only be vigilant, do not show indifference and use your judgment wisely in choosing your representatives and then keep them up to the mark, as it is in your hands to do so.

CAREFUL ATTENTION

Economic condition in Pakistan deserves our urgent and careful attention. In the present world of speed and science time factor is material and important. Today our country more or less depends upon agriculture. No country solely depending upon agricultural wealth can become strong and powerful. Nature has given us everything, such as golden fibre of East Bengal, cash crop of West Pakistan, potential resources and wealth buried underground. These have to be developed and for that factories are essential. Therefore, we must not delay one minute longer than is possible to industrialise because it is detrimental to our State. Remember the words of the Quaid-i-Azam to the people of Pakistan : "Every step towards industrialization adds to the progress and prosperity of Pakistan." I take this opportunity of appealing to

the people of Pakistan to encourage your industry whole-heartedly by using your own indigenous goods. Handloom cloth is made in large quantity today and a market must be found, which goes a great way towards helping people to earn their livelihood.

Today the eyes are focussed towards Kashmir. Cease-fire has taken place, and the terms of agreement are still being discussed.

A free and impartial plebiscite without any coercion and undue influence must be immediately and effectively ensured. The people of Kashmir must be allowed to express themselves in a free and unfettered manner.

LOOSE TALK

All this loose talk of division of Kashmir can never be accepted either by the people of Kashmir or Pakistan. I hope those who are at the helm of affairs in Azad Kashmir will remain vigilant so that what happened in Palestine may not be repeated here.

The refugee problem of rehabilitation is far from being solved. In the capital city of Karachi refugees are still living under conditions which are deplorable. This problem must be given top priority and tackled with courage and imagination. Such a large number of people wandering about without occupation is undesirable for the State.

We are a free independent sovereign nation but are still working under the Government of India Act 1935 with certain adaptations. No doubt, this was adopted as a temporary measure, but it is obsolete and out of date.

The Constituent Assembly must take the matter seriously in hand and frame the new Constitution consistent with our free independent sovereign State and fulfil their responsibilities as soon as possible.

Today we are a free independent sovereign nation. Now the question before you is the building up of the industry. Work hard, and do not allow yourself to be side-tracked and be lost in small petty matters which are of no consequence."

4. SPEECH ON HAQUQ-I-NISVAN, 1949

The following speech was delivered by Miss Fatima Jinnah at the meeting of the Anjuman Tahaffuz Haquq-i-Nisvan, held in Lahore in April, 1949.

(Editor)

"Woman occupies an exceedingly important place in the world. In view of her capabilities, the nature has assigned vast duties to her. If you failed in them, you will not only harm your individual-self but also severely hurt your collective life.

FIGHT THE VICES

With the inception of Pakistan, you have taken a new birth. I want that with this realization you should reform your oldself, right the old wrongs, do away with old prejudices, and become a living and strong nation. Ignorance, lethargy, sectionalism, selfishness, extravagance, and un-Islamic customs and ways of life and above all aimless life have become common vices in our national life. Fight against them and fight hard. I see that after passing through a horrible ordeal, people have still not learnt the lesson of life. Instead of reforming themselves they are going the way of destruction. Please wake up. Realise your responsibilities. See what the time demands of you. Start a new life. Still there is time, develop a new outlook, a new zeal to meet the exigencies of the time. New conditions demanded new set up. New problems had arisen which required new approach. Women who represented half of the population of the country could change the destiny of the nation if they put their heart and soul in the development and reconstruction work. And they must play their part if they really wanted Pakistan to be a first rate power in the world. She wanted the women to know their right place so that they might develop a sense of duty.

This could happen only if they acquired knowledge and put it into practice. Knowledge would make them self-conscious, strong, self-respecting, confident, dutiful and broad-minded. It would further help them to discard old retrogressive customs and usages and lead a pure, simple and truly Islamic life.

I have every hope that with co-operation, discipline and above all strength of faith, you will overcome all your difficulties that beset your way

and thus materially contribute towards the elevation of Pakistan. My best wishes are with you. Now-a-days Muslims are backward socially, educationally, economically and almost in every walk of life. But it was no good to lament over the past losses and present backwardness. The best thing is to study the present situation with an acute mind and earnestly try to resolve the problems. The nation can rise to its zenith only if the economic backwardness was removed. We see thousand of women roaming about aimlessly in tattered rags with their half-starved children in their laps. But nobody seems to take note of them. The more fortunate women who are better placed in life, should rise to the occasion and offer their services. They should actively help all such institutions where destitute women were learning trades to earn their living honourably".

5. ADDRESS AT A PUBLIC MEETING IN MUZAFFARABAD, 1949

While addressing a public meeting at Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir, Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech in May, 1949.

(*Editor*)

"The one thought that was nearest to the heart of the late Quaid-i-Azam when he was breathing his last was Kashmir and her freedom. The Quaid-i-Azam had sympathies for the toiling masses of Kashmir. Though he is no more amidst us his spiritual influence is still there to keep kindling the flame of determination and courage in the heart of every Pakistani to sacrifice his all for Kashmir.

Those brave Mujahids who have undergone great hardship for the cause of their motherland, I assure you that their courage and secrifices would make them masters of Kashmir. Nature made Kashmir a part of Pakistan, and Kashmir will one day become a part of Pakistan. Truce negotiations are being carried and a stage for the forthcoming plebiscite is being set up, but all this should not make you self-complacent. You should not relax your vigilant watch."

6. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL HOME, KARACHI, 1949

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered this speech while speaking at the opening ceremony of the sale of work of the Muslim Women's Industrial Home, Karachi, in June, 1949.

(*Editor*)

"Muslim women are generally brought up to be helpless and dependen on the male members of the family, who sometimes have to support quit a number of them which becomes an economic burden on the shoulder o one man.

If anything happens to him they become so helpless and it is only because, they are not taught to do anything for themselves that they have n option left but to go begging to earn their livelihood.

In the Muslim Women's Industrial Home, the women have an opportu nity of learning various arts and crafts by which they may become usefu members of society and live with self-respect, earn their living and feel tha they are self-supporting and not a burden on the State.

Pakistanis should consider it their duty for the sake of their country to buy home made articles even though not up to the mark, because it i only with this kind of support of the public that such institution can b built up and become self-sufficient and self-supporting."

7. STATEMENT ON THE OPENING OF URDU DEGREE COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1949

The following statement was made by Miss Fatima Jinnah on the eve of the opening of Urdu Degree College, Karachi in June, 1949.

(Editor)

"No nation can ever hope to obtain full intellectual stature or eminence without first releasing the mental processes of its people from the yoke of a foreign language as the medium of thought and expression. There is no language other than Urdu in Pakistan which is more suited to the expression of the personality of its people—their national characteristics and aspirations. Besides, Urdu is richer than any other language spoken or understood in the country in its contents of Islamic thought or ideologies.

Hence the prime and immediate need of introducing Urdu as the medium of instruction even for higher studies This longfelt need has partly been fulfilled by the establishment of the Urdu College under the auspices of All-Pakistan Anjuman-e-Tarraqi-e-Urdu. It is yet another feather in the cap of the Anjuman which has rendered invaluable services to the cause of Urdu.

The activities of the Anjuman in general, and the establishment by it of Urdu College in particular, deserve the fullest support of every Pakistani. I am confident that people of all schools of thought in Pakistan will help in making the venture a great success by extending to the College their fullest moral and material support.

May I remind the people of Pakistan that the late Quaid-i-Azam had the cause of Urdu always at his heart, he gave expression to this idea by making efforts to speak in Urdu to his people and was anxious to do all in his power to secure an honourable place for it as the 'Lingua Franca' of Pakistan. May Providence enable us to fulfil an ungratified desire of the Father of the Nation."

8. MESSAGE ON PAKISTAN DAY, 1949

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the eve of Pakistan Day, 14th August, 1949.

(*Editor*)

"Today is a memorable day in the history of our nation—the 2nd anniversary of our Independence. It was exactly 2 years ago, that on auspicious Lailat-ul-Qadar, Pakistan came into being.

At its very inception while the new machinery was in the process of formation, Pakistan had to face several problems of unparalleled magnitude in the annals of human history. Men, women and children were driven away from their hearth and homes who came pouring into Pakistan across the borders to escape cruelties and seek shelter.

This vast movement was brought about thinking that the new State will be strangulated by the weight of this gigantic refugee problem. People faced the ordeals undaunted with high spirit and unflinching determination, which no modern State could have endured.

EVACUATION OF BUSINESSMEN

Close on the heels of the refugee problem we were threatened with the problem of planned mass evacuation of businessmen who not only predominated the commerce and business in this country but had actually held it almost as their monopoly.

It was anticipated that the entire economic fabric of Pakistan would collapse at its initial stage, and having no other machinery to replace would be forced to submit, but Providence willed it otherwise. People of Pakistan rose to the occasion, and the businessmen who had migrated to Pakistan came forward to shoulder their responsibilities. We came out triumphantly.

ACHIEVEMENT

Prophecies of our economic collapse were belied. Our budget was not only balanced, but surplus. The balance of international trade swung in our favour and the State Bank of Pakistan was floated, and we got our own currency.

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam was with us to lead and guide us. He steered the ship through stress and storm and laid the foundation of Pakistan so firmly that it has come to stay.

We have got adequate natural resources which should be expeditiously tapped. Plans and schemes are in abundance, and their monotony must be broken with immediate execution.

Industrialization and exploitation of nature's bounties cannot be delayed any more and redistribution of wealth alone will help us to eradicate the poverty and to raise the standard of living of the common man. The future prosperity of Pakistan depends upon it.

In the words of Quaid-i-Azam nature has given us everything and let us now build and build as quickly as we can".

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9. BROADCAST SPEECH ON THE FIRST DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-AZAM, 1949

The following is the text of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah's speech which was broadcast from Radio Pakistan on the occasion of the first death anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in September, 1949.

(Editor)

"It is with a heavy heart that I am addressing the Nation today. It is exactly a year that the mortal frame of my beloved brother, Quaid-i-Azam parted from me and you all and the whole nation was left fatherless.

Quaid-i-Azam's sad demise was a great catastrophe that had befallen on the Nation, but for me personally it was a severe shock and a death-blow. From the age of eight, I was taken under his tender care and protection and ue brought me up and educated me. It would have been very difficult for me o have borne this grief of mine with courage and fortitude but for the ympathy from the multitudes of people which was a bulwark of strength to ne and helped me to endure my deep grief and sorrow. On this occasion I nust express my deepest sense of gratitude to all those who expressly and ilently extended their sympathies to me.

TOUR

In my recent tour of the Punjab and the Frontier, I went through the arious parts of the country. Whether in the jungle and bustle of the city r the rugged country side, on the banks of the rivers and rivulets, in the alleys or distant far-off lands, yonder the snow-clad mountains or in plains ie name of the Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan was echoing everywhere.

Every man, woman and child knows the Quaid-i-Azam and his mission nd his achievements. It is not possible for me to allude to them in the ographic details. He changed the destiny and the history of the Mussalmans f Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Torn by internal dissensions, swayed by lfish and decayed leadership, playing to the tune of our opponents, the Iusalmans were being drifted away from their glorious destiny.

Quaid-i-Azam came forward, shook them from their deep slumber, rganised and galvanised them with new life and enthusiasm, brought them nder one flag and one platform under his leadership and put new life into

the people and gave them a goal of Pakistan, something to live and die for. Before the mighty whirlpool of Muslim upsurge the whole edifice of opposition to the ideal of Pakistan collapsed and within a short period of seven years Pakistan came into being. It was due to this courage and firm determination that all the powerful forces, combined against him, were not able to dissuade him to give up his goal. He had shown the world that when once a Musalman is awake and makes up his mind, no power can keep him from attaining his object.

Quaid-i-Azam made the Musalmans into one Nation, gave them a flag, carved out a country, and taught the Musalmans to live as free independent people. During this period of seven years he had to work single handed and had to attend to so many problems at the same time, which he did at the cost of his health. He had to choose either to take rest and slacken his efforts in the struggle for Pakistan or to continue work that increased daily, which meant a question of life and death to the Nation. He chose the latter at the risk of his own life. It was with sheer will-power that he went through the struggle for freedom and faced many difficult problems and removed all obstacles from his path and marched on with full confidence and faith in himself and his people, towards the goal successfully and triumphantly. This achievement will go down in the history of the world as a miracle.

DANGERS TO STATE

After the achievement of Pakistan the events marched in quick succession and threatened to envelope and engulf the very existence of Pakistan, which was achieved after seven years of hard and untiring labour. Millions of refugees wended their way to Pakistan even before any machinery of the Government had been established. Economic fabric of the new-born State was threatened with collapse under a well-laid and carefully executed programme controlled from without. The beautiful and smiling land of Kashmir was ravaged. To arrest the adverse effects of these and other events, the Quaid-i-Azam threw away the caution of health to the winds and set up this task of consolidation of Pakistan with greater vigour and longer hours of hard work. As a statesman he foresaw the danger to the State.

KASHMIR

The question of Kashmir was nearest to the Quaid-i-Azam's heart during the last few days of his life. The only news which interested him whether on the Radio or in the papers was regarding Kashmir. He always felt very unhappy that this problem was delayed. His wish to free Kashmir was not

fulfilled during his lifetime. I hope the people of Pakistan will not rest and will make every sacrifice till the last wish of the Quaid-i-Azam is fulfilled.

Quaid-i-Azam has left a lasting monument in the hearts of the people. My appeal to the Musalmans and specially to the youth, both men and women, is:—study his life, follow the high principles and teachings of the Quaid-i-Azam, work hard and with singleness of purpose, organise a band of selfless workers, so that they may be able to contribute their share towards building up the country.

You should never forget the difficulties and obstacles which the Quaid-i-Azam had to face in the achievement and later on in laying the foundations of Pakistan, so that it may live for ever. He was successful in both, but at the cost of his life. Quaid-i-Azam lived so that Pakistan may come into being. He died so that Pakistan may live. Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad. Pakistan Paindabad."

10. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1950

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, 1950.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious day of Eid-ul-Fitr I send my heartiest greetings to Mussalmans all over the world. Our steadfast devotion and discipline during Ramazan makes us worthy of rejoicing on this Happy Day. I wish the joy had been universal in Pakistan. Lakhs of uprooted people without shade, shelter or hope cannot partake of the joy, although they suffered so that we may survive Three long arduous years of miseries and sufferings have rolled by. Each Eid perhaps kindled the hopes of a joyous next, but has ended in the same disappointment. This problem must be tackled, without which there can be no progress in the real sense of the word.

The World is sitting on a disastrous volcano. If it erupts, it may envelope a large part of the globe and few can predict its ultimate shape. It will be sad for all but sadder still for those who walked towards the burning lava without realizing the gravity. Let us not forget that although its tremors may be felt at long distances beyond the seven seas, it would create havoc in the regions nearby. The present day world would be happier if the people of the land are allowed freely to decide their own fate and destiny.

Pakistan was achieved by Quaid-i-Azam by infusing in the people the qualities of courage, determination, burning love of freedom and lastly the inherent strength from within which brought Pakistan on the map of the world and Insha Allah with the same inherent strength we will preserve it for ever."

11. MESSAGE ON PAKISTAN DAY, 1950

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Pakistan Day, 14th August, 1950.

(*Editor*)

"This is a day of great significance as it provides an occasion to review : old happy memories and the feeling of joy, happiness and pride at the hievement of our freedom under the guidance of our Quaid-i-Azam.

On this day we must remember those men, women and children who rificed their lives in the struggle for Pakistan and pray for their souls. is is no doubt an occasion of rejoicing and thanks-giving by the people, t at the same time, let there be a little heart-searching and stock-taking. ree long and hard years have rolled by. The chill of disappointment has ıbtless been manifesting in some quarters. This presents dark forebodings. r achievements have failed to keep pace with our expectations. The World noving rapidly and three years is no small period. We have seen history de and unmade rapidly during this time in all parts of the world. Some ions have gained freedom and some have lost it. To some liberty is a ity, to others just an illusion. For us in Pakistan what does this freedom note—political doctrine or social reality? We are still far from the ization of that happiness and contentment for our people for which we struggled and achieved Pakistan and without which we cannot really be .

Great achievements require gigantic efforts, without which our progress ›ound to be slow. Our destiny demands that we should not allow elves to drift and get entangled into webs from which it will be difficult xtricate ourselves. We are free today but freedom requires eternal ance as its price. Pakistan has limitless resources which can be utilized he benefit of the State. Freedom has given us that glorious opportunity the responsibility to avail it is on your shoulders".

12. BROADCAST SPEECH ON THE SECOND DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-AZAM, 1950

The following speech of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah was broadcast to the nation from Radio Pakistan on the eve of the second death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam in September, 1950

(Editor)

"After the lapse of one year I have been approached to address the nation today on the second anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam, when a gloom is cast over the whole of Pakistan.

Although two years have past since the terrible calamity of Quaid-i-Azam's sad demise befell Pakistan, the love and attachment has become deeper. His deep burning love for the nation has left a void, and time has not been able to heal the wounds of the people.

On this day your hearts, no less than mine, are afresh with grief and I thought perhaps my speaking to you may be able to give you some comfort and solace. Therefore, I considered it my sacred duty to join you and pay my homage to his memory and share my sorrow along with the people of Pakistan—both East and West.

QUAID'S LAST WILL

Quaid-i-Azam's last message in which he said "Foundation of Pakistan has been laid; now it is for you to build and build as quickly and as well you can".

I would like to ask the nation what part you have played and what contribution you have made towards building up Pakistan to carry out the last wish of Quaid-i-Azam. The greatest tribute you could have paid to the Father of the Nation was to have implemented this message.

SENSE OF REALITY

We are proud of our own country, but we have to take stock and analyse conscientiously what services we have been able to render in order to know and to weigh what we have done for the good of the country?

It is very pleasing to the ear, some people's telling us, that Pakistan is progressing very fast, but I would like to warn you not to allow this to blind your sense of reality and duty.

Remember, you have a gigantic task before you and have a great deal to accomplish. You should try to develop your own sense of judgment, so that you may be able to distinguish right from the wrong. In every step of yours the first and foremost consideration should be that of the interest of the State.

GUIDING LIGHT

How long will you continue to depend on the help of others for your existence? Create your own inherent strength. You have yet to accomplish great many things so that your freedom may reach the pinacle of its glory.

Follow in the steps of the Quaid-i-Azam by keeping his principles as your guiding light. You are the proud builders of a young but great State. A great and sublime future awaits your enthusiasm and action. You are on the path of renaissance, so march forward with courage and determination.

Let truth, fairplay and justice always be your motto. Nature has provided your State with abundant potential resources and it is for you to utilize them for the benefit of your State.

SPIRIT WATCHES

Youth of the nation: soon the destinies of the State will be in your hands. Chalk out a path and equip yourself to shoulder the responsibilities that lie ahead and it will depend upon you how quickly you will reach your ultimate destination as a great and mighty nation.

Quaid-i-Azam is not in your midst today but I am sure his spirit is watching over you to see that you fulfil this dream of his.

The glory of the future will depend upon the role you play in radiating your spirit of service in every department of life. You have all the means necessary to brighten the future of Pakistan. With the banner of human and selfless service go forward.

REFUGEE'S REHABILITATION

Quaid-I-Azam had said that the question of Muhajirs must be given top priority. In order to do this you must get them rehabilitated and settled. This colossal problem requires great constructive effort for its successful solution. Unless this is done, Pakistan will never be able to progress as it should.

KASHMIR

Quaid-i-Azam died with Kashmir as his constant care. That problem has yet remained as the major problem of Pakistan. The efforts of the people to decide their own fate and destiny have been ruthlessly put down.

This mighty urge of freedom of the people of Jammu and Kashmir can not be ignored. No amount of propaganda can perpetuate this sad condition of those people and I am confident that the people of Pakistan will never allow this injustice to be perpetrated.

Quaid-i-Azam with his sagacity and unmistakable political vision had foreseen the future destiny of the Musalmans. He had full faith in his mission and the ultimate goal, and was ready to face all difficulties and make any sacrifice. He launched the struggle with courage and determination and succeeded in achieving Pakistan, where eight crores of Musalmans are enjoying freedom in a free independent sovereign State. He laid the foundation of Pakistan strong and firm at the cost of his life Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad, Pakistan Paindabad".

13. ADDRESS TO WORLD MUSLIM CONFERENCE (LADIES SESSION) AT KARACHI, 1951

Inaugurating the Ladies Session of the World Muslim Conference in Karachi, Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following address in February, 1951.

(Editor)

"Islam is not only a religion governing human relationship with God, but it is a complete code of conduct, governing all our activities. With the advent of Islam, a new civilization based on equality, fraternity and justice made its firm appearance in the World. This message of human equality fraternity and justice was not merely preached from the pulpits or platforms, but was actually put into practice. In social, economic and political life, equality of status and opportunity reigned supreme. From the highest to the humblest, all gather together five times a day to demonstrate to the world in actual fact the equality of human beings.

NO RACE OR COLOUR

The new civilization based on Islamic concept that came into being enveloped several parts of the world, far and wide. Its appeal was to reason and it worked. Out of this, there arose, a common bond of religion, civilisation and social life, that binds to this day Musalmans all over the world. Cultural ties still pull together. But they need to be cemented firmly to ensure not only our existence but to spread the message of equality, truth and justice. The world today is divided into two ideological camps of democracy and socialism. Both have drawn heavily from Islamic concepts. But, they have imported their own ideas therein and thereby made their ideologies imperfect. Islamic democracy does not permit a distinction of race or colour. Nor does Islamic socialism encourage a class War. In Islam there is a perfect fusion of all interests and that ensures a harmonious blend of social, economic and political life. We have now to revive our culture and radiate it as the only soothing balm to the ills of the world. The reigning ideologies of the world are at the brink of a disastrous clash, and they have to be rescued from the catastrophe facing them. Each is trying to dominate over the other and in an effort to assert over the other, are even clinching their fists for a big showdown. It is our duty to step in and help to avert the crises and revive the glorious pages of Islamic contribution to the world.

There are several departments of human life wherein people can

co-operate with a view to help each other. The Muslim States particularly are extremely weak economically and their economic dependence on other countries has acted as a ban to their future progress. If all the Muslim countries were to unite in an effort to exploit the advantages that nature has bestowed upon them and use them for their own benefit rather than allow the nature's advantages to be exploited for other's benefit, I am certain that these States would be able to hold their own in the chess board of the World politics. The importance which is attached to certain power because of certain advantages accruing to them in the Muslim countries, if held by those countries themselves, would certainly be a great benefit to Muslim countries, but that will necessitate a pre-requisite of close, sympathetic and honest collaboration amongst themselves. We need not be dependent any more on other parts of the world, if we all collaborate in economic spheres, and I am quite certain that an opportunity afforded by the present conference would cement the bonds of existing friendship between them and create in them an urge of collaboration for the benefit of us all.

WOMEN'S ROLE

A word to you, ladies, about the part you must play in reshaping the Muslim History. History shows that Muslim women of the world, at the most critical time of the struggle for independence of their countries, have come forward and made great sacrifices for the achievement of freedom. In this short space of time women have made great progress but there is yet a great deal of work to be done. In the cycle of events during past 200 years we have suffered a great set-back. Our countries are rich in resources. Nature has given us many things and we must develope them to our advantage as quickly as we can. Economically and educationally we are backward. These are really the two main pillars on which the foundation of the nation is built. Therefore I appeal to you to devote all your energy towards education and economic welfare of your State. Remember, it is women that can mould the character of the youth of the nation and the responsibility on your shoulders is great and you must be prepared and ready to discharge your duties efficiently and well.

The glory of the future will depend upon the role you play, in radiating your spirit of service in every department of life. You have all the means necessary to brighten the future of the Muslim World. With the banner of human and selfless service, I am confident you will not fail. The wave of revival of Islam is moving fast. Let us hope that we will before long come to our own and prove worthy of our great Islamic history and precious Islamic traditions, which are still rivetted to our bones."

14. SPEECH AT IQBAL DAY AT LAHORE, 1951

While presiding over the Iqbal Day meeting at Golbagh, Lahore, Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech in April, 1951.

(Editor)

"I am grateful to the Central Iqbal Committee for honouring me to preside over their annual meeting and thereby they have provided for me an opportunity to meet the people of Lahore. I feel great pleasure in joining you on this memorable occasion. I was highly impressed by the enthusiastic reception accorded to me yesterday and I thank the people for the love and devotion that they still cherish for the Quaid-i-Azam and myself.

The changed times have not affected their deep sentiments for us and I assure the people that I cherish the same amount of love for them as they have for me and the Quaid-i-Azam. I regard it as the reward of my life-long efforts and service of the people. It is my proud asset in life.

IQBAL'S WORK

Nothing is lasting in this world except good conduct and virtuous actions. Iqbal possessed the great virtues in such abundance as have made him immortal. The message that he has left for us and the coming generations would rise in value in every age. No doubt Iqbal commands international reputation in every department of knowledge but the position which he attained as a poet and great philosopher has not been achieved by any poet in the East during the last 1,000 years.

He ranks among the top-most poets of the world; his poetry reflects the basic realities of human thought; he tries to shape the future of mankind by comparing the past with the present.

CONCEPTION OF LIFE

Iqbal was never deterred or disappointed by the hardships of life. He found the path of salvation through those difficulties. Life with him was another name for unceasing struggle and action. He awakened his slumbering nation, and gave it the message of self-respect and lofty idealism.

At the same time be condemned the national leaders who did not grapple with the realities of life. That is why it is essential for us to fully act upon his teachings.

The history of the rise and fall of nations is closely related to the progress and decadence in their thought. Iqbal always tried to substitute stagnation by action and degradation by loftiness in the human mind. His poetry possesses such life-giving warmth as can endow a new life to a dead nation. If on the one hand his poetry can salvage a nation from depth of degradation in an age of decadence, on the other hand it can guide us in a period of progress towards the achievement of great heights.

Iqbal's great poetry is an invaluable asset of mankind from which everybody can benefit, for his message is for the enlightenment of humanity. His creation of new avenues of human thought is an achievement which made him immortal.

He was a practical philosopher and he ignored such philosophical problems as had no bearing on human life or personality. In his works he has offered virtuous solutions of the problems of the heart and the soul and one gets both profit and pleasure from their study.

STRUGGLE OF LIFE

Life of an individual is a perpetual struggle and same is true of nations. An individual's success through effort, determination and steadfastness should serve as a lesson for a nation.

Like an individual a nation can also overcome adversity through hard work and steadfastness. We cannot fight our misfortunes unless we free ourselves from the struggle between our conscience and our self-interest, and until the conscience succeeds. This is what Iqbal wants that one should not be deterred by the struggle of life.

Iqbal narrated the characteristics of a Momin for the perfection of mankind. I am sorry to say that we have forgotten all our promises and pledges causing weakness in the ranks of our nation. Today the nation has not the courage to openly express truth and reality. That is why it is sinking day by day.

The time has now come when like a fearless and truth-loving people you should realise your responsibilities and participate in the construction of Pakistan. If you want the perpetuation of your national life you should not sell your conscience but follow the path of truth, faith and justice.

Therein lies the secret of your success.

Victory shall be yours only when you eliminate all archaic remnants which you have inherited from long foreign rule. It is in your hands to build a respectable place for yourselves through unceasing effort and through

inculcating the characteristics of Iqbal's Momin, you can achieve this end only when you receive that education which will create in you the profound sense of self-respect.

RESPONSIBILITIES

You are the architects of the nation. The future of your nation lies in your hands and hence your responsibilities are enhanced. So long as you are not aware of your destination and are not following the right path with conviction and patience you cannot succeed in your high aim. You should save yourself from the fraud of self-interested persons, and after acknowledging the true servants of the nation you should support them fearlessly and independently. Remember that if you erred even slightly in your judgment you will have to suffer for it for long.

I want you to fully realise your responsibilities and come forward in the field of action with enthusiasm. I am very hopeful that you will soon bring about a healthy revolution in your nation.

The time is calling you and success is waiting for you, only what is required is determination, steadfastness and will-power. Remember that it is the secret of the rise and progress of alive nations that they always adapt themselves to the changing times. If any nation refuses to accept this basic condition of national existence and progress it is doomed to destruction.

The Quaid-i-Azam proved practically that great material forces go down before unbending determination, lofty character and pure conscience and such a revolution helps development and progress."

15. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1951

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Faitima Jinnah on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, 1951.

(Editor)

"The holy month of Ramazan of forbearance and self-denial is over with the termination of the period of fasting. Islam is essentially a religion of action, which teaches you to undergo privation and hard trial in performance to your duty. It was during this month that the Quran was revealed, which is a complete code of conduct, governing all our activities. Islam transcends all barriers, geographical, territorial and otherwise, and it is this bond which unites the Mussalmans of the globe from Karachi to Cairo, from Morocco to Malaya and from Ankara to Arakan. On this happy occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr I send my greetings to the people of Pakistan and the Mussalmans all over the world.

To-day when the world is on the tenterhooks of suspense and when a clash of idealisms and ideologies has ruffled the ocean of humanity, the only solution that can bring about calm and peace is that the fate of the land should be the concern only of those who are the sons of the soil.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

Our endeavour should be devoted to create inherent strength and develop our economic conditions, which is conducive to the progress, prosperity and stability of the State. Without economic independence the political sovereignty of a State becomes a shadow without substance—a meaningless thing. So also economic dependence always acts as a ban for the future progress of the country. Similarly, lack of education is a sure indication of poverty. Therefore, great emphasis will have to be laid in the spheres of economic and educational progress of the country.

Make a Herculean effort to obliterate sorrow and pain, misery and depression, according to the traditions and teachings of Islam, which from its inception gave us the message of equality, fairplay and justice. Islamic charter was proclaimed 1,300 years ago. The clarion call is still reverberating in our minds. Let us keenly listen to it."

16. MESSAGE ON PAKISTAN DAY, 1951

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the nation on the occasion of Pakistan Day, 14th August, 1951.

(*Editor*)

"To-day we are celebrating the fourth anniversary of our freedom. Four precious years have elapsed since the dawn of Independence.

It is grafifying to note the achievements, however few, of an unaided people in their march towards their destiny.

Hope of prosperity takes a deeper root in the human mind when lack of progress is obvious enough to be self-evident. I hope and pray that in future Pakistan will achieve what it has failed to do in the past.

CLOUDS OF WAR

At the moment the clouds of war are looming large in the political horizon of this sub-continent. Challenges are hurled against us; Kashmir is claimed to have been victoriously annexed.

It is, therefore, your duty to realize your sense of responsibility and see that the people of Kashmir are no longer deprived of their right to determine their future in a fair and unfettered manner.

If you act rightly and well, I am confident that you will remove every obstacle from your way, and with courage and determination and imperishable belief in yourself you will be able to show to the world that Pakistan is a force which can not be treated lightly.

Follow in the footstep of the Quaid-i-Azam and serve the nation selflessly and sincerely with the same zeal and determination to build up your State. In the words of the Quaid-i-Azam "work, work and more work."

17. SPEECH AT Y. W. C. A., 1951

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech which she delivered while inaugurating an exhibition of selected paintings of Mr. S. M. Sultan at the Y. W. C. A. in August, 1951.

(Editor)

I am very glad to be here this evening to perform the opening ceremony of this exhibition of selected paintings of Mr. Sultan.

Art is much more than a hobby or a pastime. It has an eternal message from the past to the future. Every true artist should try to make efforts to convey this message both to his nation and to the humanity at large.

Art has its own place in building up of a nation and its potentialities in the development of culture cannot be over-emphasised. Not only feelings and emotions and natural beauty is depicted on the *convas* but art is also a means of depicting our ideas and ideals.

Art has been universally acknowledged as the most pleasant unspoken language and as such is a vital link and a dominant factor in creating a better sense of understanding between the people of different nations and bringing them closer to each other.

HERITAGE OF MUSLIMS

Mussalmans have inherited a wonderful heritage of art. Muslim art has left a stamp of its glory in an everlasting manner. Architectural beauty of some of our historical prides has won universal commendation and has been heralded as a triumph of artistic talents.

Loss of independence and power made a big gap in the strides of progress in the Muslim art treasures. But with the dawn of independence we have yet another opportunity to revive the glorious past and add a distinctive chapter to our rich heritage.

Due to various reasons art in Pakistan is in its cradle but I am glad to see that there is talent among our people who are making great effort and taking keen interest to revive it.

You may study other art techniques but you must preserve the traditions

f your own national art. I hope that efforts in stimulating and co-rdinating your talents will rapidly raise your standard and Pakistan will oon have a National Art Gallery of its own and will soon occupy a distin-uished place in international field of art.

I congratulate this private enterprise of yours in contributing towards e development of art and trust that you will receive every encouragement at you deserve."

18. SPEECH ON THE THIRD DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-AZAM, 1951

The following is the translation of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's broadcast in Urdu from Radio Pakistan on 11th September on the occasion of the third death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The speech was twice interrupted by the then Controller of Broadcasting—Later the Controller of Broadcasting sent to Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah a letter which was acknowledged by her. Letter of Apology and Miss Fatima Jinnah's reply thereto, printed here after the text of her speech reveal Madar-i-Millet's concern over any attempt to obstruct Freedom of Speech.

(Editor)

"It is indeed very painful for me to address you on this sad occasion when the nation, steeped in grief, is observing the death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam. Nevertheless, I considered it a duty and felt that I may thus be able to reach those in farflung places where I cannot go personally. Therefore, I decided to speak on this occasion and share my sorrow with all of you.

TERRIBLE CALAMITY

Three years ago Pakistan suffered a terrible calamity and Quaid-i-Azam was no more with us. Except his bare memory, which we so strongly cherish. We have no other memorial of Quaid-i-Azam to claim., barring of course Pakistan itself.

People of Pakistan do not, however, require only structural monuments to keep his memory green. Their devotion to the architect of Pakistan and his principles is not motivated by any idea of preserving and protecting their ribbons but springs up out of utmost sincerity and devotion. The passage of time has not decreased this love but on the contrary it has increased.

As I said on his anniversary last year, Quaid-i-Azam died with Kashmir as his constant care and Kashmir on his lips. The problem of Kashmir has defied solutions in spite of the passage of three long years. The magnitude of this problem has remained the same and its gravity is in no way diminished ; if any thing, it has enhanced.

Assurances were made for its early solution and are being repeated time and again without any tangible results.

That august body called United Nations has passed resolutions after resolutions, and sent its emissaries without the solution being any nearer. I hope the people of Kashmir will exercise the greatest care and vigilance to ensure that the tragedy is not repeated.

We feel most vividly the lack of that giant master-stroke to which we were accustomed for the last one decade during our struggle for Pakistan. We can re-call several occasions where even perceptibly a situation had gone against us, a sagacious move at proper time had saved it. That sagacity and vision has now given place to drift.

DYNAMIC FORCE

To the people of Pakistan there is no better method to adopt than to develop their inherent strength. Musalman is a dynamic force and asserts himself best in the worst crisis. It is that magnitude and wonderful ability of his, which has preserved his existence through centuries of decadence. It is, therefore, the development of that ability that will ultimately help Pakistan to achieve what apparently it appears to be a difficult task.

REFUGEES

It is with a heavy heart that I say that the problems crying for solution at the time of the death of Quaid-i-Azam are still uppermost and awaiting solution. Besides the Kashmir problem, there is the question of refugees. The plight of millions of people who gave up their last earthly belonging in order to preserve and protect Pakistan are to-day in a most miserable plight. No doubt it is a gigantic problem, but it should not be forgotten that it is a human problem, and we cannot allow the vast mass of humanity to remain in an adulterated misery for a long length of time. Such a situation is bound to react with disastrous effects on the country.

Let me remind you of the purpose for which Pakistan was established. It was this that Muslims may be enabled to lead an independent, honourable and free life according to their own concept of civilization, culture, education and economy. Freedom must be a reality for every individual and he should be able to live in an atmosphere where he can enjoy a peaceful and independent life.

Pakistan : You who constitute the nation, are its true builders. It is your duty to do everything you can to preserve the freedom and independence of your country. This you will be able to achieve if you will follow the principles laid down by Quaid-i-Azam.

Search your hearts sincerely and remove the shortcomings you find during the period of your four years' existence. Remember, Quaid-i-Azam wanted to root out illiteracy ; he wanted to establish Urdu as the lingua franca and State language ; he desired all facilities relating to public health provided on a large-scale ;he wanted the internal administration to be exemplary.

QUAID'S WILL

He, moreover, desired to develope a strong, decisive and honourable foreign policy. It was the last wish of Quaid-i-Azam to see Kashmir a part of Pakistan.

He never submitted to falsehood. He never waited for others to take decisions on matters affecting the welfare of the country. He had firm determination, penetrating vision, an enlightened mind and his decisions were final and unswerving. His character was most significant in the establishment of Pakistan. Many a powerful force bent before his iron will

You, who raise slogans for the independence and stability of Pakistan, must maintain the glory of your country, for which you made the world concede your rights. Do not be influenced by any internal or external pressure, which might injure your national prestige and honour.

The key of the destiny of the nation is in your hands. Realise your responsibilities and with unlimited strength save Pakistan from destruction. The world wants to put you on trial and test your strength. See that your determination does not falter. The best way to pay homage to the Quaid-i-Azam's memory is to adopt his honesty of purpose, untiring action and firm determination and work such a revolutionary change in your country and your nation that the world may be awed and none may dare challenge you.

Quaid-i-Azam did not envisage Pakistan of the weak or Pakistan as temptation to the strong. His conception of Pakistan was a Pakistan first amongst the foremost nations of the world and to that end I want every Pakistani to strive."

As explained in the introductory paragraph Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's nation-wide broadcast was twice interrupted. The Controller of Broadcasting Mr. Z. A. Bokhari sent a letter of apology to Miss Jinnah, which she released to the press, Mr. Z. A. Bokhari's letter is given below.

(*Editor*)

THE TEXT OF MR. Z. A. BOKHARI'S LETTER OF APOLOGY TO MISS JINNAH

"I must sincerely apologise to you for an interruption in your broadcast last night for a short while. Our generators went out of Commission last Saturday and every effort was made by us to give full power to our transmitters yesterday during the national hook-up time from 8 p.m. to 9.15 p.m. I very much regret that we were not wholly successful in putting the transmitters to their full power with the result that some interruptions were noticed by our listeners and by our transmitter monitors during our third transmission. I can, however, assure you that the interruptions did not impair the excellence of your broadcast for which I have received reports from our regional Stations."

TEXT OF MISS JINNAH'S REPLY

Your letter No. PUG-1(16)/51, dated 12th September, 1951 to hand.

On 11th September you sent for a copy of my broadcast at 7 p.m. and you came at 8 p.m. to my residence visibly moved by deep anxiety and entreated with tears to delete certain passages of my speech. Rather than submit to sentiments, I tried to bring you to reason and told you if there was no freedom of expression in an independent democratic State, I would much rather go without the broadcast than change my speech, which was being broadcast at your own request.

As usual after the broadcast was over, I asked you to play for me my recorded speech. That had no blemish. It is astounding that at that time neither you nor any member of your staff suggested any defect or failure of the transmitters. It was only on my return home that I learnt of the interruptions in my speech and to my surprise the interruptions synchronised with the passages you pleaded for omission.

You seem to possess a very efficient and obliging set of transmitters ready to fail at your convenience.

WEALTH OF FAITH

With wealth of faith, in his great mission, in the justness of his cause and in his creator he persisted in the discharge of his duties steadfastly without flinching in his resolve to attain the fulfilment of his mission. He never swerved from the path that the Quran had set for him.

Faith is an important factor in the fulfilment of the aim. Those who set for themselves a righteous goal must have an abiding faith in their mission. Even if everything else fails, faith in your mission, in your ultimate goal, will sustain, and help you to attain the impossible, provided your cause is just. Persistent perseverance, spirit of endless sacrifice and cheerful readiness to face the worst ordeals with a smile in complete disregard to the difficulties ahead will follow you, if you have faith in your mission. Our Holy Prophet has proved during the admittedly short span of his life what marvels could be achieved with faith in mission and faith in God.

To my mind the glory of Islamic history during the life-time of Prophet Muhammad was attained because of strength of character, and subordinating self to the universally accepted moral code. Truth and honesty were his inseparable companions. He valued virtues and denied himself glittering gold. He stood by his *plighted* word to the total disregard of the price exacted. He said what he felt and did what he said. His innermost intention was crystal clear for his expressions hid nothing.

It is this steadfastness and strength of character, this unbending and uncompromising determination to follow a correct path, that is the surest way to glory and success. The Hadith abounds in instances, where the Prophet and his immediate followers have respected their word with courage, despite its heavy price. Character is the back bone of successful life. It is character that we must develope no matter whatever we lose from the material point of view.

For the sake of Islam, for the glory of God, the Holy Prophet never considered any sacrifice too great. Islam spread like a magic wand to all those parts of the world wherever early Muslims went, not only because of the high principles that it postulated, but also because of the rigid practice of these principles in normal daily life by its followers.

GRAND OPPORTUNITY

With the establishment of Pakistan, there is a grand opportunity to us all to follow the dictums of Islam in our daily life, not only for our

personal benefit, but also for the greater glory of our nation. Let us develope the character which attracted millions to Islam in its early history. Let not practice and principles of Islam be segregated any more. Let nothing corrupt us in our way. That is a real way to happinese in this world and the next; that is the way we can enhance our prestige in the comity of nations and show a way out to this troubled world.

The world is moving fast, with the advent of science, to new avenues of its own destruction. It is the duty of every man and woman to help it to extricate from this turmoil. We have no doubt stupendous tasks to tackle. But fortunately for us the life of our Holy Prophet has a beacon light to guide us in multitudes of our problems.

Our biggest problem, that of refugees, is not without its parallel in the life-time of the Prophet. With a little lit of self-denial every Musalman of Medina came out with open arms to welcome Muhajirs of Mecca and the magnitude of this colossal problem melted with the warmth of affection and love. We can follow them with advantage.

Every Musalman, to whatever part of province he may belong is a brother of another Musalman. This is not merely to be a sweet pronouncement for the gallery. The real brotherly love must issue from the innermost recesses of the heart of both our politicians and people. Once this is achieved our task is not only simplified but is also solved. Discrimination between Musalman and Musalman on provincial basis is, therefore, not only anti-Islamic but it is the surest way to weaken our march towards success and greater prosperity. Fquality, Fraternity and justice are admittedly the guiding stars of Islam. The bond of Islamic brotherhood is bridged by the Almighty and should not be tarnished or broken by provincial limits of human-making. These bonds are sacred and any interference with them is surely against the fundamental teachings of Islam.

The Holy Prophet gave a high place to the women. Indeed it is a matter of the greatest pride that the first person to be a follower of the Prophet was a woman. She kindled the light that has been kept burning by crores of people all over the globe. In those dark days before the Prophet women did not enjoy rights of any kind, but with the advent of Islam women secured a respectable place. She also secured a right of inheritance. Indeed centuries thereafter the Western World adopted Islamic teachings in respect of the woman and her right. Islam was the foremost religion to have given woman high place of prestige and power."

20. SPEECH AT A KINDERGARTEN SCHOOL, KARACHI, 1951

While presiding over the annual prize distribution function of the Greenwood Kindergarten School, Karachi, Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech in December, 1951

(Editor)

"I thank the Principal of the Greenwood School for inviting me today to distribute the prizes at their first annual function and enabling me to spend sometime with the children.

In Pakistan we are faced with the task of building up a strong nation. This can be achieved by training the children at a tender age and giving them right kind of education so that they may be moulded according to our genius and thus lay the foundation of building up our nation.

Stress should be laid on two points, First, individuality should not be suppressed. Secondly, special attention ought to be paid to each individual child so that he may grow up and be moulded on the right lines. If this training is successfully given by the school, then the child is sure to succeed later on in his future career. But let me tell you that this is not an easy job. It is an acknowledged fact that to educate the children is a very difficult thing and slightest carelessness can make the problem more complicated. In fact the education of children is a special art, and better education for them can be expected only by providing training to specially selected staff who should specialize in this art and possess adequate knowledge of child psychology. On the other hand, the close co-operation of the parents is also necessary, as it also forms an important factor in their training.

I am glad to know from the school report that you are endeavouring to pay individual attention towards the mental, physical and moral uplift of the child and their proper training is your special concern. As far as the latest methods of education and training are concerned, no doubt you should adopt them keeping pace with the changing circumstances, but it is incumbent that you always keep before you your own national aspirations. You must try to impress upon the children the greatness of your own culture and civilization.

A word of advice to the children. Being small you are prone to be naughty and make mistakes, but I want you to remember one thing ; never forget to speak the truth, nothing but the truth, no matter what difficulties we may have to go through for doing so. This will be the key to your success in life.

Lastly, I congratulate the prize-winners on their success and appreciate the efforts of the Principal and the staff towards this nation-building cause. I thank you also for the tribute you have paid me in your address of welcome."

21. SPEECH MADE AT A GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL, 1952

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech on the occasion of the prize distribution of Wasim Girls High School, Karachi, made in May, 1952.

(Editor)

"On this occasion I want to remined you that we have a glorious past and are possessors of a great cultural heritage.

WOMEN'S RECORD

The achievements of your ancestors in the realms of arts and learning are a recognised fact. Their patronisation of the learned, their efforts in expanding education, their labour in research work and their establishing hundreds of educational institutions, where people used to come from distant lands to acquire knowledge, is not mere fiction but forms the brightest chapter of our history and you can be proud of it.

In these records women have not failed to play a dazzling role besides their menfolk, at times leading and inspiring them. Now the question is why this frustration and discontent when we have achieved our highest goal of Pakistan under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

SYSTEM FAULTY

The Muslims cannot be dubbed inferior to others nor is it due to any innate inferiority. In fact it is due to the faulty system of education that we have inherited.

By education here I do not mean only book education but the training and the mental outlook which is developed on the present system of education. Notwithstanding high intellectual attainments, it tends to impair the healthy spirit of human energy, soundness of judgment and to produce selfishness and a deficient sense of national service and solidarity. Knowledge appears to have been acquired for the sake of the glory of its possessor, who lives in the lands for his own individual or material glory.

Students are taught the literature of other countries, of their poets, philosophers, etc,, and are ignorant to all that is our own, thus becoming a class in themselves fitting neither with our own country nor with any

other, which leads to misery and discontent. Education of this sort should have no place in an independent country.

Changes in the present curriculum according to the needs and aspirations of a free and progressive country are urgently needed. Slight changes or adjustments would not do and we must be prepared even to make basic changes, if need be.

CHILDREN A TRUST

At the same time it is essential to sow the seeds of patriotism in the tender minds of the youth, so that saturated with the national feeling, they become true servants of the nation and the country.

Remember. children are a valuable trust of the nation and it is they who will share its future destinies. Therefore the welfare of the children should be our first concern. Finally I congratulate the prize winners and wish you all success."

22. MISS FATIMA JINNAH'S EID MESSAGE, 1952

The following message was issued by Miss Fatima Jinnah on Eid-ul-Fitr in 1952.

(Editor)

"On the happy occasion of the Eid-ul-Fitr, I send my greetings to the Nation and the Musalmans all over the world. In the shape of Pakistan, we achieved freedom from political as well as psychological dependence.

Lailatulqadr, which precedes this great festival, saw the emergence of Pakistan five years age. We are still on the lookout for new evenues to build up our State according to our own requirements and conditions. This is a very important stage in the life of a nation, because it is now that the new order is formulated which may ensure its survival and future progress.

We have waited in vain for the last five years to see our Constitution framed. Constitution is one of the first essentials on which our future and progress is based.

VARIOUS PATHS

As prerent there are various paths persuading us to tread. Each one leads to a different end ; each has its own idealisms and ideologies.

It is the duty of our educated and intelligent people to try to create a society which, conscious of the supremacy of the Islamic principles, may devotedl_ work for them.

In Pakistan there is a great need today of inculcating a spirit of complete self-sacrifice, restraint and of subordinating individual interests to national ones. Major problems of Pakistan have so far defied solution. Human patience has reached a dangerous point.

LESSONS OF RAMAZAN

Nothing is more ruinous therefore, than forgetting the lessons of Ramazan. It is for the people of Pakistan to wake up and go ahead with grim determination to revitalise the nation. Nothing is insoluble if determination, self-sacrifice, restraint and national service are your pillars.

Remember, the world will be more impressed with your deeds rather than your recorded history. So let us march forward with courage and determination towards the glorious destiny which the Quaid-i-Azam visualised.

23. SPEECH AT AN EID FUNCTION, KARACHI, 1952

While speaking at an "Eid" function arranged in Karachi by the ladies branch of the Bombay Muslim Association Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech in July, 1952

(Editor)

"The achievement of Pakistan has created a revolutionary change in our lives and has established a new country and a new nation on the map of the world. If the people of Pakistan want to live as a nation, first and foremost thing is to create the spirit among themselves and their children that Pakistan is their country and they are Pakistanis first and last.

Unless you sow these seeds of patriotism, the conception of Pakistani nation will be incomplete and you will not progress at the desired speed. I would like you not to live in the past but to live in the present and look forward to the future and build Pakistan according to the new order of life.

CO-OPERATION

Just as the co-operation of a man and a woman guarantees the welfare and progress of a child, so also in the larger sphere their co-operation can help a great deal to expedite the progress and prosperity of the people and the country. You have an example before you as to what part the women played in the struggle for the freedom of our country. They created a new life and new spirit in the movement and we realised our goal. Now in the building up of Pakistan, I am sure, you will play your part equally well.

The Quaid-i-Azam always emphasised that without education it is darkness and it is education that can bring light. I hope you will pay a great attention towards education of your children, which in itself will be a great service to the nation."

24. MESSAGE ON PAKISTAN DAY, 1952

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the people of Pakistan on the occasion of Pakistan's Independence Day in August, 1952.

(Editor)

"I send my greetings to the people on this memorable day—the 5th year of celebration of our independence. This is a day of great significance when people will be rejoicing in every city, town and hamlet, forgetting their difficulties and sufferings, because it revives the memory of their struggle and the ultimate achievement of freedom and having had the privileges to witness such a tremendous change—the birth of Pakistan under the guidance of our Quaid-i-Azam.

On this day we must remember those men, women and children who sacrificed their lives in the struggle for Pakistan and pray for their soul. This is no doubt an occasion of rejoicing and thanks-giving by the people, but we must search our hearts and take stock of things.

Five years have gone by to make us feel that the day of our independence is a day of distant past. Independence of a country has no meaning unless its independence is assertive in economic spheres. Political independence is not an aim or the goal of a people. It is merely a means to independence in the sphere of economics. Unless, therefore, fast and immediate efforts are made to conserve our economic wealth and to assert and establish a complete economic independence, we cannot be able to redeem our pledge of betterment of the lot of the common man. Therefore we must not look upon the independence of Pakistan with a sense of complete contentment, but must use this as a means for immediate industrial and economic development.

You have to fulfil your destiny. This you can only do if you have faith in yourself and build up your inherent strength and follow the path of truth, fairplay and justice. I pray that courage of your convictions will help you to face the enemies of the country, may they be from within or from without.

KASHMIR

The question of liberation of Jammu & Kashimr remains where it

was. Plebiscite is nowhere in sight. Interminable talks have led to no end or fruition. Dilatory tactics have succeeded in resisting its solution, which is detrimental to the cause of the liberation of Kashmir. People of Kashmir must be allowed to express themselves in a free aud unfettered manner to decide their own destiny. Otherwise it will lead to disaster.

Pakistan is a new arrival in the comity of the nations of the world. It has great potentialities and a great future. I want you to realise this and to use it to the advantage of the State. You have wonderful opportunity to show what you are capable of doing, or else you will be set back for years. Remember, time and tide wait for no man. Sheer forces of circumstances will push you into position difficult to overcome. Therefore, if you fail to act now you will suffer.

We have achieved freedom. Now we have to build our State. This requires huge effort on the part of every citizen. You have to strain every nerve, every moment of your life to see how you can build up this edifice, so that we may preserve our freedom. Let not the historian of the future say we failed to rise up to our Quaid-i-Azam's expectations after he had left to us a glorious heritage as Pakistan. Hold the strings where he left."

25. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1952

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha in September, 1952.

(Editor)

"I offer my warmest greetings to the Muslims and the people of Pakistan. This Eid symbolises the willingness to sacrifice our dearest at the bidding of duty, and is the real spirit underlying this function, which will help us to cling to our faith in the glory of Pakistan and will essentially enable us to emerge out of our present difficulties.

We have in the past made many sacrifices and I am confident that the people are prepared to do so even today for the sake of Pakistan. The question before us is to face the situation with courage and determination and solve the problems so that we may come out triumphant with the minimum amount of suffering. This will create a fresh enthusiasm in the nation and we may look forward to a bright future."

26. MESSAGE ON THE FOURTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-AZAM, 1949

The following message was issued by Miss Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of death anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam.

(Editor)

"It is with a heavy heart I pick up my pen to address you today and join you on the 4th anniversary in commemorating the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam.

It was on August 14, five years ago that this new State of Pakistan was brought with a bang on the map of the world with high hopes and expectations. The Quaid-i-Azam's sole mission after the birth of Pakistan was to make Pakistan mighty and powerful, both as a deterrent to its enemies and a force to its friends.

The Mussalmans weathered a might avalanche to steer through the storm to adolescence of a nation to assert their separate entity and self-determination. If they look back to the dark days of the struggle of Pakistan or to the period immediately following its establishment, they can well imagine that nothing worse can take place. They can muster the same faith, courage and self-reliance to fight the present situation and I have full faith in the nation to do so.

Life of an individual as much as of the nation is a struggle and in this struggle triumph is assured to those who hold fast to their faith and refuse to go under. I am sorry to say we are suffering today because we have forsaken our promises and pledges and have not got the courage to face realities and speak out the truth boldly when necessary in the interest of the country.

Time is come now when you should realise these responsibitities of yours and take part in building up your nation. If you want to live as an independent sovereign nation you must make untiring and unceasing efforts to build up Pakistan as the Quaid-i-Azam envisaged, and follow the path of truth, fairplay and justice. That will lead you to the progress and prosperity of Pakistan. Time is calling you and success awaits you.

What is required is your determination and the will to act. Remember, the secret of the progress and prosperity of living nations is this that they are endeavouring to adapt themselves to the ever changing circumstances. If any nation refuses to accept this basic condition of existence and progress or it

overlooks it, it will suffer. Mighty nations of today are enjoying the fruits of their forefathers' sacrifices and struggle. Our heritage is brilliant and our potentialities great. So let us also strive to build up Pakistan that the posterity may benifit.

The economic condition of Pakistan has given cause to anxiety. The boom period encouraged by the stockpiling in the West is past. Let not these factors cast a shadow of gloom. The people of Pakistan can and must find solution of these difficulties. Constructive work and more of it is bound to pay rich dividends. Planned austerity, elimination of corruption and social consciousness will help us a great deal.

The Quaid-i-Azam said on one occasion. "You belong to a nation now ; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours ; it does not belong to a Punjabi, or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali, it is yours, Therefore, if you want to build yourself into a nation, for God's sake give up provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses, and so is sectionalism.

It is upto the people of Pakistan to follow the golden path which the Quaid-i-Azam has laid down for them. Build up your State on the constructive lines and therein lies your future."

27. SPEECH AT A GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL, KARACHI, 1952

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on eve of the annual prize distribution function of Ronaq-e-Islam Girls High Scnool, Karachi in December, 1952.

(*Editor*)

"This school was founded three years ago when it was on a small scale. The progress that it has made within this small span of time proves that if you are determined, you can overcome all difficulties and achieve success.

KEY TO PROGRESS

Education is the key to all progress and prosperity. Therefore the cost of education should be the minimum so that all classes of people may be able to send their children to school and derive the benefit therefrom. The number of girls here has increased to 1200 and I congratulate you on these efforts of yours to spread education though you had to suffer financial difficulties and loss.

On a previous occasion I had emphasised on introducing Islamic history as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. It is regretable that no such action has so far been taken. In my opinion it will be in the fitness of things to introduce Islamic history without any further delay and therefore I once again emphasize this.

I would like to say a few words to you students. You are receiving your education in a free atmosphere in a free country.

Develope breadth of vision, strength of will and a sound character. Do not say things you do not mean, and when you say a thing stand by it and make good your word.

Prepare yourself and strengthen your economy. This can best be achieved by using your own indigenous articles and tempting others also to do so. This will help keeping your wealth within the country, and the people will get more work, which will naturally raise their standard of living.

The only way to make Pakistan strong is by creating your own inherent strength, so much so that you can face every difficulty. This strength is as important as the arms and ammunition.

I have every faith that Eight crores Pakistanis, specially the youth, will develop this inherent strength. This alone will help you to remove all obstacles from your way and you will come out triumphant."

28. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1953

Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following messege to the Nation on the Eid-ul-Fitr in June, 1953

(Editor)

"Having gone through a regime of the whole month of rigorous self-denial and discipline of Ramazan, Mussalmans will be celeberating Eid-ul-Fitr all over the world. On this day of thanks-giving and rejoicing, I send my warmest greetings to the Musalmans of Pakistan and abroad.

In the struggle for independence we made heavy sacrifices and lakhs of people suffered and we realised our fruits in the shape of sovereign independent State of Pakistan with full authority and powers transferred to us and sovereign body of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was formed. But so far no Constitution has been framed and the things are in a fluid state. We have been waiting for the decision as to the constitutional stature of our country.

Pakistan is a free and sovereign State and no links can be allowed to operate as chains

At present the position of Pakistani citizen is unnecessarily clouded with strange subjecthood. I want that it should be unequivocally declared that we are exclusively Pakistani citizens and subjects of none. I am convinced that it is the overwhelming public opinion in the country that Pakistan should at once be declared an independent, sovereign Republic.

Islam is essentially a religion of action which teaches us to undergo privation and hard trial in performance of our duty So let us renew our resolve to serve Pakistan truly and well with a spirit of forebearance and sacrifice that Ramazan has imbibed in us.

Let us revitalize the nation and create inherent strength and with faith, courage and determination march ahead so that, as desired by the Quaid-i-Azam, we can have our voice felt in the council of nations."

29. PAKISTAN DAY MESSAGE, 1953

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the Nation on Pakistan Day in August, 1953.

(Editor)

"Six long and arduous years have rolled by, since Quaid-i-Azam laid the foundations of Pakistan. Having achieved a well righ impossible task of the establishment of a separate homeland for the Musalmans in Pakistan-Bharat Sub-Continent, Quaid-i-Azam charged us to develop it to occupy an honoured place in the comity of nations. Have we fulfilled our task ?

Independence Day is a day of stock-taking. I am sorry to say that the prestige of Pakistan has suffered a jolt. We have been pulled back to be pronounced at the altar of subjecthood and that has cast a wave of resentment all over Pakistan. We have been waiting for the decision as to the constitu-tutional stature of our country. Nothing short of a Republic will be acceptable to the people.

Each in his role occupies an important place in the country. A country reaches the pinnacle of glory when every single individual contributes towards its growth.

I want the people of Pakistan to re-establish their own power. A power not merely to be reckoned with, but the power that alone shall prevail. It is sustained endeavour and careful suffering that will pave the way to the resurrection of the Government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Refugee problem today is in the same condition as years back. Every rain shower brings in its trail a shower of sympathy. A temporary focus of attention, but moves the problem no nearer solution. How long can these sub-human conditions continue ? It is necessary to earmark lands for their permanent settlement. Voluntary efforts in rehabilitation should also be fully encouraged.

The solution of the problem of Kashmir by means of a plebiscite and the right of self determination of the people to decide their own faith and destiny has been agreed upon in principle by Bharat. But it has been prevented under some pretext or the other by dilatory tactics.

The urge for freedom and the expression of their free will in the matter of State's accession has been ruthlessly put down.

The present happenings in Kashmir are the outburst of this urge for freedom and no amount of propaganda can perpetuate this sad condition of those brave people.

People of Pakistan will never allow this injustice to be perpetuated and will stand by them in their right of self-determination.

During the course of the last six years, we have failed to husband our resources. Lost opportunities are not repeated. Nature exacts heavy toll from those who fritter away its bounties."

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30. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1953

Following is the text of Miss Fatima Jinnah's message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha, 1953.

(Editor)

"I send by greetings to the people of Pakistan on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha, which we are observing under the shadow of gloom all over Pakistan.

The day of Eid-ul-Azha marks the culmination of the highest sacrifice known to mankind and is, therefore, a day of rededication, self-effacement and highest sacrifice. The people of Pakistan are prepared to offer every sacrifice so that their brethren in Kashmir may secure their lost right of self-determination. In this task, however, time factor is the most important. It is no use prescribing a result that the intervening period would suffice to turn the whole of Kashmir into a revised edition of Jammu. In order to guard against extinction of Mussalmans from the Kashmir Valley, steps must be taken to ensure safety of human life and freedom of thought and action in the Valley. We must rescue them before they are stilled for ever.

In the past you have faced many difficulties and have overcome them with courage and determination under the leadership of the Quaid i-Azam. No matter what our difficulties are, our one single thought for the present must be Kashmir. United we shall wrest it from the foreign yoke. Eid Mubarak".

31. SPEECH ON THE FIFTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-AZAM, 1953

Following is the text of Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech which was broadcasted from Radio Pakistan in a national hook-up on the Fifth Death Anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam on 11th September, 1953.

(Editor)

"Today after an interval of two years I am approached to address you from Radio Pakistan. You all know fully well the reasons that led to the absence of my broadcast last year. Thereby hangs a painful episode-painful both to you and to me. In view of the present critical situation in the country I have, however, accepted this request as a call to duty to the Nation.

This day five years ago the Founder and the Architect of Pakistan, our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, breathed his last. That tragic event occurring within a year of the establishment of Pakistan was lamented as one of the greatest calamities.

The Quaid-i-Azam is no more but his teachings and political philosophy is there to guide us. He devoted his life for the achievement of one of the biggest tasks in the Muslim history. The accomplishment of the objective of Pakistan was alone sufficient to give him a prominent place in the history of the world. But actually he has also left behind as a legacy to the people of Pakistan a glittering code of conduct and guidance.

If the people of Pakistan follow his teachings and example, there is no doubt in my mind, all their problems will satisfactorily be solved.

There is no greater need, for the people of Pakistan today than to rally round their beloved Quaid-i-Azam. They rallied round him in his superhuman task for the achievement of Pakistan. In its accomplishment there were two very powerfull forces, pulling all their weight to defeat the Mussalmans of the Sub-Continent but his sagacity and vision crowned the efforts of the Mussalmans in the culmination of Pakistan.

Today on the day of his Death Anniversary, I, therefore, make an earnest appeal, with all the emphasis at my command to the people of Pakistan, and by this I mean, those who are in power and outside it,

that they should all return to the teachings and political philosophy of the Quaid-i-Azam. Therein lies their ultimate success.

Two most vital questions occupy the mind of the people. They are Kashmir and the framing of the Constitution. You are the people who were prepared cheerfully to make the greatest sacrifice to achieve your freedom and homeland.

Under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam 80 million Mussalmans got freedom from the clutches of two of the most powerful forces. Four million Mussalmans of Kashmir are now yearning, for the taste of that freedom for themselves and for the right of self-determination. Should it have been really so difficult, for the people and the Government of Pakistan, with all the concomitants of power and prestige of an established State to help the Kashmir brothers to attain their objective ?

Pakistan was achieved in seven years. Six years have now passed but the solution of Kashmir is as distant as it was at the death of the Quaid-i-Azam. Let us, therefore, once again rally round the advice and the teachings of the Quaid-i-Azam and inculcate faith, courage and determination to force our adversaries to accept the united demand of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for self-determination.

To his last breath the Quaid-i-Azam had Kashmir uppermost in his mind. The freedom of Pakistan cannot be complete until the four million Kashmiri brothers are liberated from the weight of the Bharati yoke.

NO LEGAL GOVERMENT

Today there is not even semblance of democratic or legal Government in the Bharati-occupied part of Jammu and Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah, who was put up as the leader of the National Conference, is now behind the prison bars guarded by the Bharati bayonets. Whom does, therefore, the present Government represent ? They can only claim to represent those whose bullets and bayonets helped them to office. They have stilled the popular upsurge by resort to bullets and repression.

As soon as a vacuum of authority was created by the removal of semblance of legal or popular power, the people of the valley boldly and courageously stood up against the bayonets and shouted the slogans of 'Pakistan Zindabad'. Their hearts, flushed with love for Pakistan were pierced through by the bullets of the occupying army. We cannot recondise any Government which is installed without ascertaining the popular will.

The conscience of the world ought not to fail to note the emergence of a new imperialism arising not far away from our doors. Its dangerous implications have already claimed three victims-Hyderabad, Junagadh and Manavadar.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself took the Kashmir issue to the U. N. With his consent plebiscite was determined as the only solution of the Kashmir problem five years ago.

In North-West Frontier Province a plebiscite was accomplished in a matter of few months; so was it done in Sylhet.

NEHRU'S INTRANSIGENCE

When the Congress suggested referendum in the Frontier we did not hesitate, in spite of the Congress Government in power in the Province. What is it then that holds Nehru back now from an immediate plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir after having agreed to it five years ago. Who is responsible for this inordinate delay in Kashmir except the intransigence of the party, which is aware that it will be fighting a losing cause and the lethargy of the United Nations.

The Plebiscite Administrator was appointed with the consent of both the parties five years ago. There was no need to spend more than a month or two to make full arrangements for the purpose of holding the plebiscite. As a matter of fact we in this country have actually held plebiscites to determine the will of the people in N.-W.-F.P. Our experience there should have helped us to shorten rather than lengthen the period.

We are definitely against any further delay. We have already been rebuked that some of our problems have gone into ancient history because we delayed their solution. Under no circumstances will the people of Pakistan tolerate any further delay in the holding of this plebiscite.

Ancient history does neither efface green memories and live issues nor damp enthusiasm and resolute determination of the Nation to undo the wrongs. Its references should only help us to renew our resolve and rededicate ourselves to the cause".

32. MESSAGE ON MUHAJIR CONVENTION, 1953

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah sent the following Message to the All-Pakistan Muhajir Convention, which commenced its two-day session at Karachi, in October, 1953

(*Editor*)

"Rehabilitation is one of the most vital problems requiring immediate solution. According to Quaid-i-Azam, the first step towards realisation of our great ideals is the rehabilitation and welfare of the muhajirs. Its solution requires gigantic efforts and unless this is done, Pakistan will not progress.

We can never forget the great sacrifices made by muhajirs in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, nor can we ignore their present difficulties. If they are resettled in a just and satisfactory manner, they will prove to be a source of great strength in the development and progress of their beloved homeland—Pakistan, and will contribute their full share in its reconstruction. It should not be forgotten that it is a human problem and vast mass of humanity cannot remain in an unadulterated misery for a long time, as it is bound to effect the country adversely.

No doubt it is a gigantic task, but it is not difficult enough to defy solution if properly planned. In order to promote and accomplish the rehabilitation work, it is necessary that the problem should be given the priority it deserves. Of course the question of finance has its own importance, but the real question is that of proper planning—a planning that may guarantee solution of the refugees' accommodation and other economic difficulties and the social and educational welfare of their women and children. More attention should be paid towards establishment of satellite towus where all these things are provided with the co-operation of the refugees themselves. Mere transplantation of the refugees out of sight or out of bound is no rehabilitation.

During the rehabilitation compaign it should be always borne in mind that distinction as between the refugees themselves should vanish and that between the refugees and the non-refugees is also completely eliminated, so that one and all consider themselves Pakistanis and Pakistanis alone. I, therefore, fervently appeal that we should set upon this task today with a renewed resolution and I have no doubt that if we are determined, we shall solve this problem of rehabilitation satisfactorily".

33. ADDRESS AT SIND MUSLIM COLLEGE, 1953

Following is the text of Mader-e-Millat Miss Fatima Jinnah's inaugural address delivered at the Sind Muslim College History Society, in 1953.

(Editor)

"I am thankful to the organizers of the Sind Muslim College History Society for inviting me to inaugurate this session. History has been described as the record of events. It reflects the tendencies, aspirations and the happenings of the age of a country. Indeed it is the impact of the conditions social, political and economic on the people of the age concerned.

Early history has been unearthed by the study of the inscriptions where the inscriptions have been preserved. At a later age architectural structures have left behind a stamp of their age for the posterity to know the events.

Islamic history, however, has been founded on the more authentic sources than the mere imaginative study of the architectural or inscriptional remnants. From the early beginning of Islam, chronicles have been written fully depicting the events, sometimes trivial and others magnificent. It is of course necessary for us to sift these materials to collect necessary data to complete the task of the historians.

HISTORIAN'S DUTY

The foremost duty of a historian ought to be to ensure that he does not sacrifice truth either for his own ideology or for a popular appeal. History bereft of truth is unnecessary and perhaps worthless. We have scores of historians looking at the growth and the development of Islam with a jaundiced eye. This has created an unnecessary and avoidable prejudice against the great movement of Islamic development in the world.

Nearer home during the period of foreign yoke in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, we have books of history written by the historians who had a biased mind and less regard for the hopes and aspirations of the people of the land. Narrations of events have been deliberately motivated by the idea of superiority of race and creation of diffidence in the people of the country. A great event of the War of Freedom of 1857 launched by

the last of the great Moghal Kings, Bahadur Shah, has been depicted as a mere Mutiny.

Nevər will the historians of the past stand to more condemnation than the historians who during the course of the last two centuries depicted deliberately untruthful events and banged them on the historical records of this Sub-Continent.

The modern tendency of the writing of history has been to approach the original records not only to narrate the events of various times, but also to evaluate the social, political and economic conditions of the people and thus to weigh the true development of the mass of available material.

That tendency has happily found deep roots at the moment and the history of the Sub-Continent of India, particularly of the Muslim India, needs to be re-written.

As future historians, you should develop an open and unprejudiced mind, a true and daiing insight, an unbiased view, a detached and objective attitude.

During this century some of us have witnessed two World Wars and have gone through various stages and vicissitudes of historic events, such as breaking up of Empires and emergence of free independent States-our country Pakistan, the 5th largest State was brought on the map of the world under the dynamic leadership of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

Happily we are living in an age in which a glorious history is being made. Because of our proximity to the events, we may not be able to gauge their magnitude adequately. Our posterity, and particularly the generations to come, will be able to appreciate fully the unforgetful events that have revolutionised not only history of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent but have laid down the foundation of a great Islamic renaissance which is bound to help the Muslim World to re-discover itself. Quaid-i-Azam is the Architect and Founder of this new revolution.

Few in 1920 would have been able to prophesize the march of events. Bundled together with the ocean of numerically large population, the Mnsalmans mattered only for the purpose of giving a few doles, safeguards and petty jobs.

Events that followed after the assumption of office by the Congress Ministries in various provinces under the scheme of provincial autonomy opened the eyes of the Musalmans to the terrible catastrophes.

The hundred million Musalmans of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, therefore, collected together at Lucknow in 1937, which was a turning

point of our destiny, under the Muslim League banner of the Crescent and Star with Quaid-i-Azam as our leader to pronounce to the world our unflinching resolve culminating in the famous Lahore Resolution of 1940 to achieve Pakistan. Friends showed symparthy and enemies laughed to see Musalmans clamouring for what they called the nightmare of Pakistan.

The sagacious leadership of Quaid-i-Azam changed the course of history and his dynamic personality crushed the opposing forces and galvanised and rallied the Musalmans round him. He carried on the struggle singlehanded and in a short space of seven years Pakistan was achieved.

During the struggle Muslim youth played their part gloriously and well and contributed their full share and many sacrificed their lives. Formidable was the task but more indomitable was the will of our great leader, who compelled two of the greatest forces opposing the march of Muslim India to surrender and in 1947, our goal of Pakistan was achieved. In this hour of our glorious victory, our eyes naturally turned to God in thanksgiving.

History will record with the letters of gold the magnificent events leading the Muslim India to the achievement of their goal. But these magnificent pages of history should not be allowed to be tarnished by our lack of faith in our ability to preserve what has been achieved after tremendous difficulties, and sacrifices. History of Pakistan is the history of trials, tribulations and triumphs.

Those who wish Pakistan to triumph must be prepared to suffer tears, tolls, trials and tribulations. They must be prepared to perish so that Pakistan may flourish. It is in that spirit of self-effacement that they can make history, the pages of which will be glorious as the pages of that period which helped us to achieve our goal.

It will be a breach of faith with our posterity, with our generations to come as well as with the radiant pages of the glorious history of the past to create any difficulty in the way of preservance of Pakistan.

I have had the good furtune to be in the thick of the struggle of independence by the side of the Quaid-i-Azam and have gone through various stages, ups and downs of our movement Most of you, who were then school children also have gone through the good fortune of participating in the sacrifice. The greatest joy for all of us to'ay is that we are enjoying the fruits of our labour in achieving our freedom and independence.

NATION'S FUTURE

On the shoulders of the youth devolves the onerous task of building of a nation. Your unbounded enthusiasm and your efforts are always priceless possessions, of which a nation can boast. Future of a nation is always in the hands of the youth and it is for you to shape the destiny and future of your land.

How that freedom has been won, you will have to bear heavy burdens on your shoulders and direct all your energy individually and collectively to chalk out a well considered nation building programme.

I am glad to learn that you are aiming at creating a forum for the lovers of history. We are badly in need of historians and I hope you will try to produce historians from amongst yourselves and not look towards any outsiders to accomplish the task for you.

In the end I must again thank you for having invited me to attend this inaugural session".

34. SPEECH AT KARACHI UNIVERSITY, 1954

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered at the meeting of the Society of Islamic History and Culture of the Karachi University, in January 1954.

(Editor)

"It is always a source of great pleasure for me to associate myself wi academic activities. The pleasure is all the more enhanced when the activities are related to efforts for the revival and furtherance of our cultur heritage.

In Pakistan studies in the cultural subjects have an added importanc for Pakistan has come into being for a set purpose. It may seem a ban assertion, but it will bear repetition that the main motivating force in tl struggle for the creation of Pakistan was the deep-seated desire of tl Muslims of the Sub-Continent to carve out for themselves a territory whe they would be free to mould their lives according to their ideals and co cepts, taking inspiration from the founts of their glorious history and cultur heritage.

In a State estabished to achieve this end, it is obvious that tl study and re-writing of Islamic history and re-assessment of the Musli culture in a correct rational spirit must have the highest priority. For long time in the Sub-Continent, the study of Muslim history and culture w sadly neglected and even Muslim institutions did not give it the attenti it deserved. However, the Muslims' awareness of their cultural pa though not very articulate, was never obliterated in spite of alien influen In fact this pride in the cultural heritage and the apprehension about i suppression and ruination in a United India was one of the main facto which led the Muslims to organise themselves separately and claim indepe dent nationhood and statehood for themselves.

In these circumstances the formation of a society like yours is not a d too soon. We have had to start almost everything from scratch in Pakista but that in my view is a blessing in disguise. No doubt it calls for extı ordinary and redoubled efforts but we are in a position to build thin anew, according to our heart's desire. It is indeed a welcome sign that o scholars in the Universities and Colleges are realising their duty towar their nation and their country.

In the formative stage through which Pakistan is passing, our academic institutions have a very vital role to play. They can not just look upon themselves as 'Ivory Towers' far removed from the madding crowd engrossed in their refined pursuits. They have to take a hand in the general movement of national re-construction that is going on. They have to be leaders of thought and to point the way to the fruitful employment of national energies. It is through societies like the one which I have the privilege of addressing to-day that our Universities can canalise the faculties of our youthful scholars towards high and purposeful endeavour.

STRESS ON LIFE

On this occasion I would like to draw your attention to certain broad things which are expected from the scholars of Islamic history and culture. It is a remarkable fact of history that throughout the ages. in spite of the vicissitudes of fortune the Muslims in general have remained true not only to the basic principles of their faith but have also retained something of the quality and vitality of their culture. Islam has never been a mere religion in the narrow sense of the term ; it is not a bundle of lifeless dogmas and rituals. Islam is more a life-concept, a life outlook and a movement. It aims at realizing its purposes in life actually lived.

Even a cursory glance at Islamic history will show that the Muslim culture is a continuous process, a product resulting from the Muslims' attempt to follow the precepts of their faith and transform life itself according to certain principles and values. That may be said to be the distinctive feature of Muslim culture—the close inter-relation between faith, culture and life. The emphasis in Islam is on life itself. As the well-known Muslim thinker Pickthall puts it, the culture of Islam aims—not at beautifying and refining the accessories of human life ; it rather aims at beautifying and exalting human life itself. The accessories of life can be a means to an end ; they cannot be the end itself. It is a question of correct perspective, a correct sense of values. Works of art and art forms and expressions have their own value ; but they cannot be allowed to become objects of adoration or to claim all attention and energy to the exclusion of the cultivation of a higher sense of values and purpose.

The Muslim concept of culture envisages a wholeness of life, a harmony between the material and spiritual aspects, a subordination of the mundane considerations to moral ends, a sense of unity and movement, a zest for knowledge and a spirit of inquiry, an ambition to conquer the forces of nature and bend them to the service and welfare of mankind.

These underlying ideas, of the Muslim culture have to be constantly kep in view and brought to the fore in all attempts to revitalise and reinforc Muslim culture as a formative force in the life of a Muslim Nation.

There is no denying the fact that the Muslim peoples have often falle off from their culture moorings and their degradation has been in propor tion to their neglect of their cultural ideas. In Pakistan we have a wonderfu opportunity to re-interpret our cultural heritage and make it a live force i re-building our national life.

The importance of the study of Islamic history is equally obvious. Th Muslim culture heritage is embedded in Islamic history, which has to b rescued from oblivion Unfortunately no serious attempts have so fa been made to re-write Islamic history on the basis of originnl resource: The histories taught in our schools and colleges give a very garbled an biased view of our historical deeds and achievements. While the necessity o resenting historical facts in a rational and scientific manner is obvious, it i also desirable that our histories should prove to be a source of inspiratio to the younger generation to scale greater heights of success and achieve ment in the future. Here again is work for societies like yours, which shoul stimulate your serious study and effort."

35. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT DACCA, 1954

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered this speech at the public meeting at Dacca, in March 1954.

(Editor)

"This is the first time that I have come to this part of the country after the death of Quaid-I-Azam. The force which impelled me to take this arduous journey at this age was the force of duty.

I saw vividly a great deal of the spirit of dissension that was being created by our erstwhile well-wishers and, if that poison was allowed to spread, it was bound to create innumerable difficulties, nay catastrophies, in our way.

Our hard won independence is at stake, our future on the brink of disaster and our sacrifice on the verge of going in vain.

Let us consider coolly the present situation. Seven years back, under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, we achieved our goal of Pakistan. The struggle for Pakistan commenced in 1940. Within these seven years we were able to achieve what is admittedly history's biggest achievement.

The seedling of the Muslim League was born in this historic city of Dacca and later under the guidance and care of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam we achieved our independence. This was possible because we rallied round the Crescent and Star one leadership and in one organisation.

In 1936, when Quaid-i-Azam first took over the work of re-organising the Muslim League, the Mussalmans of the Sub-Continent lacked unity and, therefore, strength. Despite their huge number, it was easy to play them one against the other.

Subtle propaganda was afoot to create dissensions among the Mussalmans, but the ultimate political sagacity of the Muslims prevailed. They clustered round Quaid-i-Azam and marched towards the destined goal.

Few could have imagined that Pakistan would be established in so short a time. That achievement is unparalleled in the history. No army, no ammunition, no money and yet Mussalmans marched from strength to strength because they were united and refused to be divided.

Unitedly, therefore, they were able to stamp all opposition away and Pakistan was banged on the map of the world.

A MASS ORGANISATION

In 1936, the League was turned into a mass organisation. Some people laughed, others mocked. But with faith, courage and determination the League grew from strength to strength and it achieved for us our independence.

Once again history is being repeated to-day in 1954, because our opponents know that if the League is successful then their object will be defeated. They foresee the danger that if the Muslim League succeeds with overwhelming majority, then Pakistan's solidarity will be consolidated and the dream of re-union of India will be crushed.

The flag of the Crescent and Star, which was unfurled by Quaid-i-Azam in 1936, and under which the Muslim nation gathered, must be held aloft and flying. Its mission is not yet complete. Establishment of Pakistan was a goal but not an end in itself. It was the mission for greater glory to the Mussalmans and Islam.

We cannot achieve that glory by dividing ourselvee into different camps. We cannot think in terms of Islamic renaissance in the world of to-day if our own house is divided. If our strength is not dissipated by creating flanks amongst ourselves, if we do not divert our energy to fighting our own differences and dissensions, if we do not emphasise trivial matters but sacrifice them at the alter of abiding faith in the future, if we do not oblige our opponents and our enemies, surely there is no force in the world that can arrest the march of this caravan to it's destination.

SUBTLE ENEMIES

Those who openly opposed the Muslim League and the establishment of Pakistan, have realised that their violent and vocal opposition helped Mussalmans to close their ranks They have now changed their tactics but not their heart or their resolve for re-union. More subtle and clandestine methods are being evolved to fight the same battle.

We have, therefore, to keep our eyes wide open and see through the game of those who are not yet reconciled to the ideology of Pakistan.

It is our foremost duty to realise that establishment of Pakistan has no consequence unless Pakistan is consolidated to achieve its great mission. This Mission will succeed only if the Muslim nation which alone was responsible for the achievement of the mission stands united.

If the Islamic ideology, which captured the imagination of the youth and prevailed upon men and women of the sub-continent cheerfully to sacrifice their limb, life and, honour, is to be allowed to grow, this grand achievement must not be allowed to be frittered away in so short a time, because of the lack of unity and political vision.

IN TERMS OF A STATE

The ideals and values which inspired our freedom fight have to be translated into the terms of a state, a society and an economy which we are now engaged in building up. For this you need constructive spirit and not a militant spirit.

The Muslim League, which is the only authoritative and representative organisation, must be the repository of effective power in Pakistan until such time as the aspirations of those who sacrificed their all for Pakistan are achieved. Until then, therefore, we must organise ourselves into one single organisatton and remain under its banner.

The moment we divide, the effective power will pass to the hands of a small group of people who have not yet reconciled to the establishment of Pakistan. They can easily wrest the effective power from hands of the majority and dictate terms.

DIVISION OF SEATS

Let us, therefore, examine the situation coolly and calmly. In East Bengal, we shall have an Assembly of 309 with 237 Muslim seats including women. If these 237 seats are divided in two groups of more or less equal strength, we may have these Muslim seats divided roughly between two parties of 118 each. In a House of 309, a party of 155 can alone claim a majority. If Muslim seats are more or less equally divided no single Muslim party can form the Government. Each Muslim party will have to depend upon a small balancing group of about 30 members to obtain the bare majority.

The small group will, therefore, install a Muslim party into power and thereby influence, affect and even dominate their ideology. Therefore, the effective power of Government will be out of our hands.

You have, therefore, to decide as to whom you want to entrust a State founded on the basis of Islam. Do you want the power to reside in the hands of the Mussalmans or not?

Let me tell you that the only method in which the power can reside in the hands of the Muslims is to have one organisation and to ensure

greater strength and stability to the Muslim League. It must have your fullest support.

It is for the masses to join the Muslim League in large numbers and to make their voice effective, and thus strengthen the hands of those who represent the aspirations of the people.

If you analyse the composition of the Government at the Centre, you will realise that the moment another parallel Muslim organisation gets into opposition to the Muslim League the Congress Party will hold the balance of power

This simple proposition has dangerous potentialities and the Mussalmans cannot ignore it except to their peril. I am not giving you a difficult picture or one that is unfathomable, but is something which every reasonable man should clearly and vividly see.

You are now enjoying the fruits of the victory of a free independent sovereign State after tremendous efforts and sacrifices of the Muslim nation. It is a miraculous achievement unparalleled in the annals of history. The whole world was stunned. It caused alarm and despair in the ranks of the opponents.

SCARE OPPONENTS

I want you to create the same flutter and thunder in the ranks of your opponents. I appeal to you and especially to the youth of the nation to support the Muslim League.

Do not be afraid but go ahead with confidence in yourself. It is in your hands to make the Muslim League as powerful an organisation as before. The strength of the Mussalman has not waned during the last seven years On the contrary he should now be more determined and courageous Take him with you and go ahead. The object of building of Pakistan must always be before you to wake you up.

Devote all your time and energy to work for that objective and I have no doubt you will realise your rights and privileges, set things right and carry aloft the banner of success to victory of the Mussalmans and Islam. I would like those who are in slumber or in doubt and despair to wake up and those who are hesitating to go along with us for the sake of Pakistan, which is our most valuable asset after tremendous sacrifices.

MARCH FORWARD

March forward and advance towards your goal of building, preserving

and consolidating Pakistan, united under one banner and one platform that is the Muslim League. Therein lies your success.

To-day Pakistan is being attacked on two fronts—East Pakistan and Kashmir. Sometime one front is kept ablaze, at other times another one is opened. The period of lull does not indicate that the danger is over. We must be alive to this danger. Slumber will not help.

When the propaganda machine is geared up beyond the borders of East Pakistan the magnificient people of this province will have to stand the strain yet again.

COMPLACENCY DANGER

To-day, under the pressure of expediency, there is no drawing of the sword. Let that not create a feeling of complacency in the mind of our people. The Mussalman has always to be ready to discharge his obligation. He must catch the common rope and march towards his goal together.

Those who are trying to divide this great nation are destroying Pakistan. Their attempts so wipe out our Muslim League will result in ruining Pakistan.

There will be nobody to hold this edifice and it will serve the end only of those who want to revert the Mussalmans to a mere minority. Let us, therefore, not fall a prey to the subtle propaganda of the enemies and the selfish people.

The most glorious achievemeut of our history was never meant to be frittered away in this manner. We are passing through very critical times. From the inception of Pakistan never has the enemy despaired or given up his machinations. The hidden hand sometimes waves, at times conceals itself, but its pursuit for reunion remains.

Let us not, therefore, be a party to the destruction of Pakistan. Let us strengthen the nation and for that let us make the Muslim Lengue a strong and powerful body that can reflect genuinely and adequately the aspirations of the Mussalmans, unhindered and unabashed.

HIDDEN TREASURE

Pakistan has hidden underneath the ground vital materials that can make us a world force and a power to be reckoned with. We need every ounce of our energy and every single man to put his shoulder to the wheel of progress, for we are determined to go ahead.

There is so much of work to do and so little time to lose, that we must shake off all the ideals of rifts, dissensions, differences and oppositions.

Vital problems are ahead. Pakistan is yet faced with tremendous odds, the luring eyes are yet being cast on the beautiful plains, golden fields, smiling valleys and calm rivers of Pakistan.

GATECRASH LEAGUE

Let us not allow ourselves to be hoodwinked into strangulation. If we break the Muslim League, we weaken our home. You must gatecrash into the Muslim League and capture it, to make it strong so that we may win the elections with a thumping majority.

Thus it may present the genuine urge and aspirations of the people and become a truly authoritative and representative body of the Mussalmans of Pakistan. In that task every true Muslim Leaguer will work with you shoulder to shoulder.

We have a good deal of leeway to make up. One hundred and fifty years of foreign rule have created a sense of lethargy and dependence upon others. Progress of the country is hampered by this idea of dependence. Each one of us must do his or her best towards building up Pakistan.

We have unlimited resources and we must build them fast. The world is progressing so rapidly and with such terrific speed that we cannot afford to lose time. But these achievements will be a distant goal unless we unite to construct and to build a state worthy of our great heritage, so that history can look upon our time, as a time of glorious people, who did not fail to do their job.

You cannot write of history in letters of gold, unless you are prepared to shed not only perspiration but tears and to toil.

SELF-DENIAL

You have to practice self-denial, give up self-aggrandizement and think not of self but more of the nation to which you belong. For that purpose, a sense of unparalleled discipline, unquestionable unity and obiding faith are the only criteria. The Muslim League has been built upon these three cornerstones of success by our beloved Quaid-i-Azam. Let us stand on it and let us bring it back to its glory so that Pakistan takes its rightful place in the world, which is prosperity and glory.

75

UNITY REQUIRED

Unity is the first requisite of progress. Unity breeds progress. Progress breeds prosperity. So let us stand united under the banner of the Muslim League for progress and prosperity of Pakistan. People of East and West Pakistan are one and we shall live together and die together."

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35. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING IN BARISAL, 1954

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah at the public meeting at Barisal during her tour of East Pakistan in March, 1954.

(*Editor*)

"This is my first visit to Barisal. The welcome accorded to me on my arrival by its smiling river and cheery and enthusiastic people was a picturesque sight, which I will always remember.

The establishment of Pakistan is an unparalleled phenomenon of our times because it represents the triumph of idealism against the prevailing materialistic forces.

FIGHT IS STILL ON

Let us not be carried away by the idea that having won our freedom we can rest on our laurels. The fight for Pakistan is still on. The harder and more important aspect of our struggle is the consolidation of our freedom through a process of constructive efforts.

For this, what you need is unity in your ranks, unflinching determination and faith to ensure the stability and prosperity of Pakistan. We are passing through critical times. It was through the Muslim League that we achieved our independence and it is through the Muslim League that you will overcome the dangers that threaten your freedom,

I request you to think before you take a leap in the dark. Do not be carried away by appeals to your sentiments. I want you to look at things from a long-sighted view, I see the youth of East Pakistan are politically conscious. That is a very good sign and because you are politically conscious, you are expected to exercise your judgment keeping before you the best interest of Pakistan.

The Muslim League has stood firmly for one thing—for the achievement of our freedom and now for preservation, progress and prosperity of Pakistan.

By supporting the Muslim League in the past you have lost nothing; but on the other hand have succeeded in throwing off the shackles of slavery, which might have continued if you had not supported the Muslim League. This achievement by the Muslim League is a great thing in the life of our nation.

77

HEARTS SOUND

Those who can claim the achievement of Pakistan in the short span of seven years and made history so glorious will not and must not feel despondent. The heart of the people is sound and I am sure they will give their verdict in favour of the Muslim League—the only authoritative representative organisation of the Mussalmans of Pakistan. If the Muslim League is defeated it will serve the purpose of those who want to revert the Mussalmans to a mere minority.

Let us not, therefore, fall a prey to the subtle propaganda of the selfish people. The achievement of our history was never to be frittered away in this manner.

It needs all love and care and affection from us all ; give it as much as you can, which you can do by supporting the Muslim League."

37. SPEECH AT SIND MUSLIM COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1954

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered at the Sind Muslim College, Karachi, in March 1954.

(*Editor*)

"I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to this function. It is always a source of greatest pleasure for me to associate myself with any function connected with the progress and welfare of our youth. The Sind Muslim College which I have the privilege of addressing today is the off-spring of the Sind Madrassa which as you know, claims the distinction of having the Quaid-i-Azam as one of its alumni.

As you know, the Father of the Nation always had a very soft corner for the students. Even in the busiest days of the Muslim freedom movement he used to find time to meet and address the youth.

A HISTORICAL FACT

It is a historical fact of which the people of Pakistan will always have reason to be proud that while some people with some vested interests faltered and temporised, the youth of the nation were the first to respond to the Quaid-i-Azam's call and played a glorious part in the struggle which culminated in the creation of Pakistan. They formed the spearhead of the movement which stirred and galvanized the Muslims into a decisive struggle to achieve their birthright of self-determination

Our youth have thus inherited spirit, a tradition and a responsibility pertaining to Pakistan and its future, which must be carefully diverted into constructive channels. Having been so deeply inspired by the ideological force which motivated the Pakistan movement, our youth have to be conscious of the additional obligations that devolve on them to see that Pakistan moves steadily towards the fulfilment of the mission and the ideal for which it stands.

QUAID'S WORDS

I hope you are alive to the fundamental change which took place in the attainment of national freedom. I cannot better describe it than in the words of the Quaid-i-Azam. In the course of his address at the Convocation of the Dacca University in 1948 he said, "It is necessary that you and your fellow-students fully understand the implications of the revolutionary change that took place on the birth of Pakistan. We have broken the shackles of slavery,

we are now a free people. Our State is our own State . . . what is now required of us all is constructive spirit and not the militant spirit of the days when we were fighting for our freedom.

It is far more difficult to construct than to have a militant spirit for the attainment of freedom. It is easier to go to jail or fight for freedom than to run a Government."

It is clear from the Quaid-i-Azam's words that once we have come into our own as a free nation our whole approach to every problem of life, individual or collective, has to be conceived in a constructive and responsible spirit.

DEEDS NOT SLOGANS

Not slogans but deeds, not aggressiveness but service, not fanaticism but sympathy and tolerance have to be our watchwords. There is enough politics in the country. I certainly do not decry politics as something ugly or detestable. But I do believe that there is lamentable dearth of the spirit of quiet unostentatious work of constructive value.

While political parties and programmes give rise to excitements, rivalries and controversies it is the less spectacular but more durable social work performed in a missionary spirit in the daily round of life that lays a sure foundation for the super-structure of national advancement and glory.

The power and success attained by advanced nations is not a sudden phenomenon ; it is not the work of politicians or administrators alone ; it is made possible and is kept up by the unwearied, selfless labours of that silent band of social workers and unassuming men and women who do good for its own sake. Their best reward is the satisfaction felt by their own conscience that they have done something to discharge their obligations towards thier less fortunately placed fellowmen.

NO ROYAL ROAD TO PROSPERITY

Of this spirit unfortunately there has not been much evidence since we attained freedom. Believe me there is no royal road to power and prosperity. Those who receive the blessings of education and can think for themselves have to imbibe the spirit of selfless service and go through the will as it were. A lot of spade work, a lot of apprenticeship has to be gone through before you can claim a position of leadership or authority to be able to command obedience or influence the course of events.

You should aim at developing social consciousness and a spirit of constructive thought and endeavour which would at once provide a healthy

channel for your energies, enlarge your mental horizon and sympathies, and prepare you for the future role of leadership which would eventually be yours.

I have already pointed out to you the undesirability of adopting a course which throws you prematurely into the vortex of politics. You should refuse to be used as tools by any political groups or politicians who have their own designs. The high spirit and the energy of the youth is too precious to be squandered away in the arena of party politics.

The heroic part played by the youth in the Muslim freedom movement in pre-partition India bears no analogy to present-day conditions. That was a movement of national liberation and called for total effort ; today it is party politics. You should, therefore, beware of those who would exploit your enthusiasm for their own ends. Of course, it does not mean that the youth should take no intelligent interest in the observation and study of political forces and events. In their own interest they have to take care that their time and energy are primarily utilized in equipping themselves with the knowledge and training which could fit them for their proper role in society upon entering responsible life.

CHARACTER BUILDING

Another important matter to which I would particularly draw your attention is character building After all what is character and when are foundations laid ? Without going into any abstruse definitions I may say that character is a recognition of adherence to certain moral standards and values under all circumstances. These standards and values have to be imbibed and cultivated at the time of youth which is the most impressionable and formative period of life Character not only shapes individual life, it has a far-reaching effect on national effort and destiny

No system, no ideology can by itself prove to be of any avail. In the hands of men of character even a defective system can be made to yield good results, to say nothing of a good system. Most of the troubles in our society today are due to want of character. Much of our misery would go if we develop character and learn to subordinate selfish interests to the common good.

It is not everyday that one gets an opportunity of taking part in the building up of a new State. The youth of this generation are fortunate to have this opportunity. It is for you to rekindle in our people a sense of legitimate pride in our cultural heritage albeit with a broad outlook and a readiness to assimilate all that is healthy and wholesome in modern life and that accords with the fundamentals of our faith.

Without this pride and this breadth of outlook no real regeneration and no progress is possible. You should approach the people in a spirit of humility and service and win their confidence. Social and economic uplift, if it is to be of enduring value, is always a gradual process. Behind the seeming diversity of race, language and customs there runs a thread of unity which binds the people of Pakistan together. Let us concentrate on factors that unify. It should be our endeavour to spread the true values of Islamic Culture in an ever-widening circle. Selfless service performed in missionary spirit is the surest way of providing closer union and cohesion.

DANGEROUS TREND

Before I close I would like to draw your attention to a very unhealthy, even dangerous trend which has of late raised its ugly head. I refer to the tendency in certain quarters to view even basic national issue from the provincial angle. I cannot find words strong enough to condemn this tendency, for it cuts at the very root of the basic concept of Pakistan.

If provincialism prevails the Pakistan of our dreams, the Pakistan for which millions of men, women and children laid down their lives, will have no future.

Discussion and controversy is not a bad thing. But for heaven's sake let all discussion be raised to the national plans. Let all issues be discussed, considered and settled keeping in view the basic concept of Muslim nationhood and Islamic ideology which brought Pakistan into existence and which alone can keep it alive.

A POISON

God forbid that our narrow parochial feelings and outlook should undo the work of the Father of the Nation who called provincialism a poison. Where many of our elders have failed to give an effective lead our youth may well come to the rescue of the nation.

This downward trend must be arrested and no one can do it better than the youth. Their minds are absolutely unclouded by any narrow ideas or parochial feelings. They can bring a fresh and wholesome outlook to bear on all problems. The best service they can render at present is to fight the provincial outlook and make the real national feeling and outlook permeate the body-politic of the country.

I again thank you and I offer congratulations to all those who won prizes and awards for their achievements in the academic and extracurricular activities."

38. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1954

Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the Nation on the eve of Eid-ul-Fitr in 1954.

(*Editor*)

"On this auspicious day of the Eid-ul-Fitr, I offer my heartiest greetings to the people of Pakistan and the Musalmans all over the world. This Eid symbolises the spirit of self-denial and discipline. The lessons, inculcated during the holy month of Ramazan ought to be followed with equal rigidity throughout our lives in all matters of common concern.

The Musalmans of Pakistan who baffled the world under the leadership of their beloved Quaid-i-Azam, with the political sagacity, spirit of sacrifice and discipline, are once more on trial. The whole world watches them intently, our friends with cares in their heads, our enemies with cannon to their shoulders.

Let us inculcate again our innate Islamic virtues of unity, faith and discipline, which are imbibed in us as a result of the teachings of Islam, through the agencies of the Haj, Qúrbani and Ramazan.

CRITICAL PHASE

Pakistan is today in one of the most critical phase of its existence. The ideology of Pakistan, the common Islamic culture and tradition, have been pierced by the short-sighted and the enemies, who have darted unnoticed from their caves of ignominy. Simple folk, who trust themselves trusted them too only to be betrayed.

The virus of provincialism, sectarianism and mutual hatred which goes counter to repeated Islamic teachings of the Quran and sunnah has been injected all around and the common bond of Islam is thrown open to the ridicule of others.

It is the religious duty of all Musalmans to respect life and honour of each other and to stand united and disciplined in the common endeavour to glorify Islam. It is in the fulfilment of the ideal and demonstration thereof to the world that the high and low, irrespective of their Provincial or class affiliations, will stand united before the Almighty Allah on the auspicious day of Eid-ul-Fitr.

It will be a betrayal of that teaching to break the bond of this unity, as soon as the great day is over. It is our duty to carry this natural unity to

all the spheres of our common life, arm in arm, forgetting ill-will and to march forward towards our common goal of glory to Pakistan and Islam.

Any other action will amount to a disservice of Islam and betrayal of the Quaid-i-Azam. I have no doubt that Islam and the teachings of Quaid-i-Azam will triumph in Pakistan. Eid Mubarak. Pakistan Zindabad".

39. SPEECH AT MEMON SOCIETY, 1954

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the Memon Debating Society, Karachi in June, 1954.

(Editor)

"The establishment of Pakistan is a revolutionary and unparallele phenomenon, which gave us our homeland, uniting us into one sovereig independent state. In order to build up this state you have to create i the minds of every man, woman and child the feeling that he is Pakistani first and Pakistani last. So long as you do not remove th virus of provincialism and create a sense of patriotism, till then you wi not be able to fulfil your responsibilities and Pakistan will not march toward progress and become a strong and powerful country, as Quaid-i-Azar wished and we all desire. I repeat most emphatically that there is nothin more dangerous in the body politic of Pakistan today than this poisor which must be rooted out. It is no use saying that provincialism is ba but see that it is buried once for all, and here I want every man, woma and child, specially the youth of the nation to see that this disease rooted out once for all. The slogan from one end of Pakistan to th other should be—one nation, one country, one voice. Then I assure yo no one will have the courage to hinder our efforts to achieve our destine goal.

Because of unity born of unwavering faith in Islamic ideology, w brought Pakistan into being. Now we cannot think in the terms c Islamic renaissance in the world of today, if our own house is dividec If our strength is not dissipated by creating flanks amongst ourselve if we do not divert our energy to fighting our own differences and dissension if we do not emphasise trivial, and temporary matters but sacrifice the at the altar of abiding faith in the future, if we dot oblige our opponen and our enemies, surely there is no force in the world that can arrest th march of this caravan to its destination.

Pakistan is going through critical times. I would like those who ai in slumber or in doubt and despair to wake up for the sake of Pakista which is our most valuable asset, achieved after tremendous sacrifice Advance towards your goal of building, preserving and consolidatin Pakistan, united as one nation and one country. Therein lies yo success".

40. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1954

The following Eid-ul-Azha message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah to the nation in August, 1954.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious occasion of Eid-ul-Azha, I wish to convey my warmest greetings to the people of Pakistan and the Mussalmans all over the world. This Eid has brought happy tidings to the people of Egypt and Tunisia, We share their joy and are happy to see Muslim brethren grow and prosper in other parts of the world.

This Eid is a culmination of a spirit of supreme sacrifice-an embodiment of the precepts of Islam as personified by the shining example of Hazrat Ibrahim. It is an annual reminder to us of our duty towards the distressed. Let, us, therefore, launch a drive to eradicate poverty, illiteracy and distress by the spirit of cheerful sacrifice in the cause of our brethern in distress. Lately a large number of our fellow citizens have suffered due to heavy rains and floods in East Pakistan and Karachi and it is our duty to remember them on this Eid Day and do our best to alleviate their miseries.

Haj has another important significance to the Mussalmans. It permeates a spirit of unity and common brotherhood fundamental in Islam. People all over the world, high and low, bow before the Almighty as equals between themselves. Quaid-i-Azam emphasized the need of unity for leading us to achieve greater glory. Let us, all the Mussalmans, bind ourselves together to a single rope and scale the heights of glory that our dissensions have denied to us.

Eid Mubarak. Pakistan Zindabad".

41. MESSAGE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1954

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of the Independence Day, 14th August, 1954.

(Editor)

"On this memorable day, the seventh anniversary of our independence, I send my greetings to the people.

When seven years ago we attained our independence, it was not merely a country that came into existence, but a new Nation was born with a burning faith in certain ideals and vision of a glorious future.

Establishment of Pakistan was a goal but not an end in itself. It was a mission for our greater glory, which must not be allowed to be frittered away because of lack of unity and political vision.

If we do not emphasize trivial and temporary matters, but sacrifice them at the altar of abiding faith in the future, surely there is no force in the world that can arrest the march of this caravan to its destination.

It is our foremost duty to realize that establishment of Pakistan has no consequence unless it is consolidated to achieve its great mission. The ideals and values which inspired our freedom fight have yet to be translated into the terms of a state, a society and an economy, because political independence without economic independence is a shadow without substance.

You cannot write pages of history in letters of gold unless you are prepared to shed not only perspiration but tears and toil. You have to practise self-denial, give up self-aggrandizement and think not of self but more of the Nation to which you belong. For that purpose a sense of unparalleled discipline, unquestionable unity and abiding faith are the only criteria.

Pakistan was built upon these three corner stones of success by our beloved Quaid-i-Azam. Let us stand on it and let us bring it back to its old glory so that Pakistan as a sovereign independent state may contribute its full share towards the peace and prosperity of the world.

Another aspect of our freedom struggle which has a close bearing on our present situation is that we can achieve our objects only by self-reliance and self-sacrifice. We cannot look to any outside powers for help in solving our difficulties.

There are a number of disputes involving our vital interests which have naturally retarded our progress. If we placed greater reliance on our own efforts and determination, we should not be in the position in which we find ourselves today.

Let us ask ourselves as to how it is that a people, who, without arms and weapons, fought on two fronts and wrenched Pakistan out of unwilling hands, is today in an unhappy position even though it has all the resources of an independent state. Has there been a weakening of faith and character and deterioration in the spirit of sacrifice and determined effort ? Let us search our hearts to find an answer to these questions.

There should be no room for despondency or despair. Pakistan has unlimited potential resources and commands a great strategic position, so that you can make or unmake the equilibrium of the world. It is in your hands to use what is yours to your own advantage. It is for the people to re kindle in themselves that spirit and those qualities which enabled them to achieve Pakistan. The present situation is a challenge to the self-same qualities of our people.

Kashmir looms large as a gaping wound in our body-politic. Every difficulty that we have to contend with is ultimately traceable to the Kashmir problem.

The Mussalmans have never been known to yield in the pursuit of a just and righteous cause. Our whole history shows that our best qualities come to the fore when we are beset by any trial. Pakistan is still not out of the orbit of trial.

Let the Nation resolve on this auspicious day of the celebration of our independence that acting in a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-reliance and following in the footsteps of the Quaid-i-Azam, we shall liberate Kashmir and solve each of our difficulties through our own determined efforts".

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42. SPEECH AT GIRLS CADET DAY FUNCTION, 1954

Following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered at the First Cadet Day function organised by the Karachi Girls Cadets in August, 1954.

(Editor)

"The essence of the cadet movement, as I understand from your address is primarily to prepare girls for humanitarian service by giving them training in first-aid and nursing and equipping them in hygiene, cooking, handicrafts, fire fighting and citizenship, side by side with character building, which is its essential feature. I am glad to learn that the foundations of the movement have been laid and there are about 52 girl cadets on your roll at present.

Pakistan is the achievement of the sacrifices and Quaid-i-Azam's political sagacity. It has got to be saved from all possible onslaughts. A strong nation must be built and defence of the nation must be assured. That can be done by taking every possible step to preserve the health of the population.

SPIRIT OF SERVICE

The spirit of service which is innate in the nature of the women must come to our rescue to persuade our girls to join the nursing profession in large number. That will enable them not only to serve the humanity, but also to serve themselves. Proper medical attention has in many cases to be supplemented by proper nursing. A bad nurse or no nurse might be as fatal as no doctor. It is therefore necessary that our young educated girls should take to nursing in large number. There is vast field for them in this particular line. It is a noble and great profession. It is the symbol of our determination to help ourselves and our people. It is the fulfilment of the mission of human service and I want you to take advantage of this all-round training which is given to you here to equip you to serve your own homes and your people and the country.

On this occasion, I would like to repeat what I said to the women in March, 1948. "History records many instances where women have excelled in state-craft, in personal valour and self-sacrifices. Today this infant State of Pakistan requires all the devotion and sacrifice and courage of which you are capable. No nation can reach its pinnacle or glory unless its women

folk are ready and willing to play their part in its development. There are many ways in which women can contribute to the growth and strength of the nation. The destiny of the nation lies more in your hands than in any other. It is the women who are principally responsible for the up bringing and the shaping of the character of the youth of the nation and the progress and stability of the State ultimately depends on the character of the people. Pakistan requires the services of a number of women social workers, women teachers and above all women doctors and nurses. In case of a national emergency, women may have to be called upon to play a more active part in the defence of their homes and their children."

43. MESSAGE ON THE SIXTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-AZAM, 1954

The following is the text of Miss Fatima Jinnah's broadcast to the nation from Radio Pakistan Karachi, on 11-9-54 night on the occasion of the Sixth Death Anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam.

(*Editor*)

"I am privileged to speak to you to-day over the Radio on an occasion which I know moves you as it moves me. This day, six years ago, our Quaid-i-Azam, the father of the Nation, left this earthly life for the eternal world of spirit, having successfully accomplished the mission for which he worked all his life. He lived for his people and gave every ounce of his energy in their service. He had unshakable faith in his mission and fought for its achievement with irrepressible zeal. He was proud of his people who implicitly followed him and gave him unflinching support which enabled him to carve out for them an independent state in the teeth of opposition of two hostile forces. Every one of us feels that Pakistan is a legacy left to us by Quaid-i-Azam which we must zealously guard. In order to do this we must be clear in our minds what type of State Quaid-i-Azam wanted Pakistan to be. As you all know Quaid-i-Azam was a firm believer in democracy and in the principles of brotherhood, equality and social justice in keeping with the tenets of Islam.

In 1943, in his address to the Delhi Session of the All-India Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam said "I am sure democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and your arteries have not been functioning but thank God the blood is circulating again, thank to the Muslim League efforts.

Again in a broadcast talk to the people of America in 1943 Quaid-i-Azam remarked 'Islam and its ideals have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody. This shows clearly that he wanted Pakistan to be a full blooded democratic State.

Quaid-i Azam wanted us to realise that on August 15, 1947, it was not only a Government but also a great nation that came into existence. In one of his speeches he again said "the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State

and of our nation the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realise the great ideal of human progress of social justice, of equality and fraternity which, on the one hand, constitutes the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State.'

I have quoted these extracts from his speeches to remind you that it is your duty to see that Pakistan develops into a true democracy and you play your part in its consumation.

CANAL WATER ISSUE

One problem which concerns the very existence of vast agricultural areas in West Pakistan is the canal water dispute. According to all canons of International law and usage we are much entitled to use the water of the rivers which, though they arise in Bharati territory, flow through our country. No where in the world we find an instance where water flowing through a country is stopped in order to strangulate the very existence of that country. Bharat is one exception. This shows her obscession to strangulate Pakistan by all means possible. The canal water dispute must be settled in accordance with the principles of International justice and fair play without further loss of time.

Another problem to which I must again draw your attention is Kashmir. Let me tell you that in his last days Kashmir problem was a matter of deepest concern and anxiety for the Quaid-i-Azam. You owe to his memory to go all-out to secure unfettered right of self-determination to our Kashmir brethren who have been groaning under the yoke of tyranny for the last seven years. Liberation of Kashmir is an article of faith with us. Mr. Nehru has categorically committed himself to hold a plebiscite in order to ascertain the will of the people of Kashmir. Six years have gone by but still there are no signs of a plebiscite. Kashmir continues to be a major threat to peace and a challenge to the conscience of humanity. Bharat talks eloquently of the virtues of peace and the desirability of pacific settlement of all disputes. I wish she would look nearer home and practise a little of the advice she is willing and ready to offer to all others whenever there is a threat to peace. It seems to me that Mr. Nehru has two sets of principles—One for the edification of the people abroad and another to practise at home.

Our hearts are heavy with grief over the sad plight of our brethern in Bharat. It is a negation of her secularism, so strongly professed. Due to the wave of communal riotings, the Muslims are coming in increasing

numbers to Pakistan in search of peace and security. I hope the world understands what secularism practised by Bharat means.

ONE NATION AND ONE COUNTRY

It is indeed most gratifying to me that my appeal for East Pakistan flood relief has met with whole-hearted response from all sections of the people of Pakistan What has heartened me is not merely the amount of constributions that are pouring in, but the great fraternal spirit of sympathy and helpfulness that has come from the hearts of our countrymen. The nation has risen as a man to meet this crisis. It is this spirit of unity that is like a silver lining to a dark cloud, This is how living nations meet calamities and crises. As long as this spirit lives Pakistan's future is assured. You have shown to the world that we are one nation and one country. Pakistan has been achieved by the sacrifices of the people in the East and West Wings of Pakistan and the solidarity, stability and integrity of Pakistan will be preserved by us jointly, as Quaid-i-Azam visualised.

For sometime now there has been a great deal of feeling of frustration in the country There are whispers heard everywhere. Every one appears to be aware of it, but all the same no attempt has been made to meet the situation and to galvanise the people towards their ideals. I want to warn the nation that if nothing is done early and things are allowed to deteriorate further, it may be too late. I want every one to be a builder of nation, each in his own sphere and with unity and determination to march forward towards your ideal, specially the youth of the nation, on whose shoulders falls the destiny of Pakistan. You must build your own inherent strength, with faith in your mission. Onwards shall we march with the bugles of Quaid-i-Azam's message on our shoulders and surely shall we reach that pinnacle of glory which the Almighty Willed for Mussalmans, when he helped the struggle of the Mussalmans to its successful achievement Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad—Pakistan Zindabad."

44. INAUGURAL SPEECH AT EXHIBITION, 1955

Inaugurating The International Dolls Exhibition at the Y.W.C.A. organised by the Women's Refugee Rehabilitation Committee, Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech, in January 1955. (*Editor*)

"It is gratifying to learn that your committee has already constructed 0 quarters where more than 900 persons have been resettled, which is ghly praiseworthy. This has been done with the hard work, determination and selfless devotion to the cause which you have undertaken. ou have also provided a school upto the sixth standard, an industrial me and medical aid which shows that you are fully alive to basic requirements of the residents of the colony and your responsiities in this respect. Your committee within a short period of its mation, has done this work which is highly commedable and which shows at determination, courage and sincerity of purpose can achieve. I congraate you on your achievement.

You have still got to construct 80 more quarters out of 250 for which u need funds. I hope there will be generous response from the public help you not only to achieve your target of 250 quarters, but also to ceed further in your noble cause.

I repeat once again that unless the refugee problem which is a challenge our sense of patriotism and brotherhood is satisfactorily tackled and refugees are rehabilitated there can be no peace of mind, without ich they cannot contribute towards the progress and prosperity of kistan. I, therefore, appeal to every Pakistani to come forward and do his t for this humanitarian cause.

Finally I thank the organisers of the exhibition for tbe tributes and timents expressed about me and wish them success in their laudable ects."

45. SPEECH AT THE ROTARY CLUB, 1955

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah at a meeting of the Rotary Club, Karachi in February, 1955.

(Editor)

"It is a fact that our businessmen and industrialists made great sacrifices and threw in their lot with the movement for the achievement of freedom. Since the establishment of Pakistan, they have been engaged in building up trade, commerce and industry which constitute the life-blood of a nation's existence. You have had to work under serious handicaps, but you have bravely gone forward. Let me tell you that the building up of the social and economic fabric of an independent nation is a harder struggle for which you must be ready.

The ideals and values which inspired our freedom have to be translated into the terms of a State, a society and an economy which we are engaged in building up. This requires a clear vision, a spirit of self-restraint and patience and a determination to work hard with the good of the country as your ultimate objective.

No doubt the social work you do in the midst of your heavy professional and business engagements, is praiseworthy. But, I would like to point out that in your daily round of work, in your own sphere where you have opportunities of exemplifying your motto, you can make a solid and substantial contribution to the progress and development of the country.

The commerce and industry of Pakistan are in an initial stage. They require careful handling and devoted work. You have to approach your task in a spirit of dedication, for whatever course you set and whatever traditions you lay down in the beginning will effect the whole future of the country.

SOCIAL UPLIFT

There are innumerable problems relating to social uplift and provision of better living conditions for the masses of our people which call for close attention and unceasing effort. The misery and distress, the poverty and want, the ignorance and apathy that prevail around are a challenge to our self-respect, our humanitarian sense and our capabilities.

There are signs of depression and demoralisation. Fear and despondency seem to weigh down the minds and hearts of the people. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue, it might adversely affect the self-confidence and enthusiasm so essential for constructive effort towards the building up of all departments of national life.

Pakistan came into existence in response to the urges and aspirations of a people who wanted a State of their own in order to realize their destiny according to their own faith, culture and ideology. This called for a struggle entailing untold sufferings and sacrifices which the people willingly bore.

The Pakistan movement was directed in a democratic spirit. by democratic methods. towards democratic ends, namely the establishment of a free social order based on Islamic principles wherein the will of the people would prevail and wherein they would be free from fear, want and distress.

Pakistan can and Insha Allah will live nnd survive by constantly keeping in view these broad objectives which alone can inspire and enthuse the people and lead them to the path of effort and if need be, suffering and sacrifices.

We are a nation of 80 million people with a glorious past rich with traditions of sacrifice and noble endeavour. By the grace of God, with the establishment of Pakistan we have another opportunity to add even brighter chapters to our history. Nature has blessed us with unlimited potential resources and a strategic position in the comity of nations.

It is for our businessmen and professionals to realise their obligations and the great opportunities for service that are available, by practising a little patience and self-denial, to build up the economy of the country in such a way that the permanent prosperity of the country as a whole is ensured.

Therein lies their prosperity and they will have the added satisfaction and happiness of knowing that they have made as worthy a contribution to the consolidation of our national freedom as they did towards its attainment,"

46. SPEECH AT A PRIZE DISTRIBUTION FUNCTION, 1955

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the annual sports and prize distribution function of the Jamia Talim-i-Milli-Malir, Karachi in March, 1955.

(Editor)

"I consider it a great pleasure to be with you today and thank you for inviting me to distribute the prizes this evening. I congratulate the prize winners and wish them greater success in future.

The losers need not be disheartened if they did not succeed in this attempt, because it is not the victory but the real effort to win that counts I wish them better luck next time.

Side by side with the academic education of your school, I see that you have taken equal interest in the physical development as well. Sports and games are essential for the development of strong physique and sound health. They also help to bring out many other qualities, such as discipline, judgment, bravery and building up of your character.

Therefore, it is absolutedly necessary that stress should be laid equally on the development of both the body and the mind.

MIND AND BODY

Mind and body are so essentially one that however brilliant the intellect may be, the neglected body is a handicap and prevents the attainment of the highest capacity of the individual. In order to have a perfect balance of body, mind and soul, which can help and reinforce each other, physical, mental and spiritual education must be simultaneous.

Our efforts should be that stress should be laid not merely on education out also on building up the character of our children on such solid foundation that they may be strong and able to serve the country. Remember, on the progress of Pakistan depends the strength of Pakistan.

Pakistan has been achieved after stupendous sacrifices. She has many problems before her. I hope you will face them with the same courage and determination as you did in the achievement of Pakistan.

I would like to place before you one or two things in connection with your obligations to the cause of the nation. First, you have to do away with your weaknesses and build up your character on a high level so that

may be an example to the future generations who may follow in your -steps. Develop in your children love for your own culture and ization and interest in your own art and literature.

SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM

I want you to sow the seeds and create in them the spirit of patriotism hat they may develop strength and be able to make any sacrifice and Pakistan as selfless workers and true Mujahids of Pakistan when d upon to do so.

Country above self should be instilled into them from this tender Remember, children are valuable asset of the nation and the e of the country lies in their hands. Therefore every effort should be for their welfare.

want the students to take full advantage of the opportunity given em and imbibe as much knowledge as they can. Education does ean book knowledge but side by side, moral and physical development

tress should be laid to bring out the personality and individuality of ild in such a way that he may be able to have originality and initiative it when he leaves his school, he may be able to shoulder the sibilites in whatever walk of life, when called upon to do so.

hen and then alone he can be an asset to the nation and the country. we need selfless and patriotic workers who look to the interest of the y above self.

nally I again congratulate those who have won prizes and wish you cess".

47. ADDRESS TO INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE, 1955

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's address at the annual function of the Muslim Women Technical and Industrial Institute, delivered in March, 1955.

(Editor)

"The need for such technical institutes in a country like ours cannot be over-emphasized. Technical and industrial institutes should be opened not only in big cities but, also in every nook and corner of the country as they afford not only material benefits to the trainees but, they stand to gain in other respects also.

The training which is imparted to the students will provide and enable them to fulfil essential domestic needs. It prepares the students to stand on their own feet in case of emergencies and thereby become an asset rather than a liability to their family.

Widows and other ladies who have got no substantial source of livelihood are enabled to earn their bread, if necessary and stand on their own legs by learning various arts and crafts such as sewing, cutting, fancy embroidery etc.

Those girls who cannot go for higher academic education for want of adequate resources, will particularly find good opportunities for them in this Institute. In view of the nominal fees charged, they can easily acquire this training which is practically more valuable in family life.

LOVE FOR LABOUR

Besides these material benefits the training imparted in such institutions tends to create in the trainees qualities of self-confidence, discipline, punctuality, development of aesthetic sense and above all "love for labour". These qualities go to make good citizens which are an urgent need of the time.

It is gratifying to note that this Institute has been progressing steadily. This progress is the outcome of the hard work and keen interest taken in the affairs of the Institute for which I congratulate the Principal, Mrs Minechar, the members of the staff and the students.

As I learn from the report, so far nearly 2,000 students have received

training in various arts and crafts in this Institute. Thus the Institute has not only been fulfilling the individual needs of the trainees but, also furnishing qualified and competent teachers to some industrial homes which have been started.

I am sure that sincerity of purpose, strong determination, co-operation and selfless work will enable you to make this Institute an ideal one and thereby fulfil your noble object which you have at heart.

Faith in your ability and devotion to your duty will no doubt enable you to fight and reduce the evils of poverty, illiteracy and misery successfully.

SOCIAL CLUB

I would like the students of this Institute to take full advantage of the facilities provided to them. They should not be content only with the acquisition of technical training imparted to them but, should aim at allround development.

I am glad to know that the students have organised a social club in this Institute, I hope the activities of the club will be so directed as to enable the students to build up their character on a high level and acquire qualities of sympathy, mutual understanding, co-operation etc. Moral health and spiritual development should have a place of prominence in every institution.

There are many things which are still to be provided in this Institute. The need for a good library which may provide latest literature on the subjects taught, has long been felt. I hope the well-to-do members of our society will realize the importance of such charitable services and help the Institute to run unobstructed by paucity of funds.

The second requirement is that of a qualified and efficient teacher for cooking classes, who also could not so far be engaged due to financial drawbacks.

These requirements deserve our special consideration and I hope they will be fulfilled as early as possible".

48. STATEMENT ON POLITICAL CONDITIONS, 1955

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's statement issued to the Press in April, 1955.

(Editor)

"I have been anxiously watching the trend of events and the political developments in the country that have taken place during the last few months. The people have been the inarticulate witnesses of a meladrama that has assailed even our sovereign status as a nation. As a result, the country finds itself today face to face with an acute constitutional crisis.

Let me make this clear that any attempt to whittle down the full sovereign status of Pakistan will not be tolerated by the people ; be it from inside or from without the country. The nation will to a man defend this sovereignty in all its aspects—political, legal and in fact, the spirit that created Pakistan is alive and flourishing ; the nation that carved out its destiny is competent to meet all dangers and threats from within or without.

However, I regret that for the last few months a situation has been allowed to persist which is not in accord with the spirit and tradition of the Pakistah movement, as a result of which the present crisis has cropped up. In such a situation we must all remember to look at the problem in a manner that is consistent not only with our sovereighty but also in conformity with the spirit of broad-mindedness and tolerance and above all unselfish patriotism. Without such an approach it will be difficult to restore our national prestige and effectively deal with the present crisis.

SOUL OF DEMOCRACY

I have said this before and I must emphatically repeat that Pakistan will be and was meant to be a democratic country. Whether you look at it from the point of view of the Islamic ideology, or modern democratic practices, democracy can only be sustained if there is the rule of law. Law before which the caliph, the king and the mightiest of the mighty must bow, and which must be respected by all irrespective of their position in the country. That is the quintessence, the very soul of democracy. If this rule of law goes, it will lead to anarchy and chaos.

These then are the limits of the socio-political framework and these t be accepted and honoured at all costs. If we do not treat democracy the rule of law as sacred and supreme, it will amount to a breach of with the masses who reposed their trust in the leadership in the name of n and democracy.

APPEAL

I, therefore, appeal to all concerned to coolly and carefully reflect the situation and I hope no step will be taken which will be detrimental e cause of democacy. This is a time when all should rise above onal, petty and provincial jealousies. Let no feeling of pique or loss 'ace stand in the way of duty. Everyone must accept the truth and before what is right and just. May God give us wisdom and courage ct selflessly to save Pakistan".

49. MASSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1955

The following is the text of the message issued by **Mohtarama Miss** Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr in May, 1955.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious day I wish the Mussalmans Eid Mubarak. The holy month of fasting is over. With its many aspects it is treated as one of the five pillars reflecting a code of life collectively known as Islam. Islam gave us the namaz to purify the soul; the roza to purify the body and Zarkat to help purify the society. It gave us the institution of the Haj and brotherhood of Islam and equality among men irrespective of their birth. It asked us to fear none but Allah, to freely choose our leaders and go forth to exploit the wealth that is under the seas and in the womb of the earth and in the void of the over-surface in accordance with His will.

And we Muslims, inspired by this teaching and in order to establish the values enunciated therein and live a life as near to these ideals as possible, were successful, after thousands had lost their lives, in carving out this great country for ourselves so that we may live freely as an independent democratic nation.

It was in the month of Ramazan that Pakistan came into being and as such today our thoughts are invariably linked with the hopes and aspirations that inspired us. Therefore, when we re-joice in feast and greet our brethren let us for a moment pause and reflect : how far have we succeeded in translating the ideals and the spirit of the Pakistan movement into a concrete living order of society.

POLITICAL SHOCKS

During the past few months the country has been rocked with tremendous political shocks. Methods have been used which were far from dignified in character, but I am glad the people remained calm and composed and did not deviate from the path of constitutional method indicated by the Quaid-i-Azam.

These events, however, have brought out the painful reality that democratic institutions have come under ominous shades and foreign elements which we had got rid of, after years of hard struggle find

themselves encouraged to extend their menacing hand in the conduct of our affairs.

Thus in this land of hope and promise, a combination of circumstances has given us shock after shock, brought about a state of uncertainty and shaken our national pride. Far from building the order of society we had dreamed of, we are still grappling with the foundations.

We have also seen attempts made to undermine democratic institutions and conventions which are the very life-blood of any living and vigorous society. There has been a systematic emasculation of the representative political parties which are the only means of giving expression to our collective will. Instead, mushroom and pocket organizations have been engineered and encouraged.

This, I must warn you all, is fraught with danger and the canker must not be allowed to spread. Choose your political party after due deliberation and work actively and vigilantly as a conscientious member, or else democracy in Pakistan will receive a blow from which it will be hard to recover.

THE ONLY SOLUTION

It is an irony of fate and a tragic paradox indeed that after eight years of freedom our very sovereignty as a nation has been put in question and has been pleaded to reside outside Pakistan. It was declared and universally acknowledged at the birth of Pakistan that it was a sovereign independent state. The nation is determined to see that sovereignty is restored to the people. Pakistan shall be a sovereign Republic and we shall not falter in our grim resolve. This is the only solution to the prevailing confusion and chaos.

These are very trying times indeed and I chose this occasion to draw your attention to bear upon these matters as we have just completed a routine of rigour and austerity directed towards self-purification. Those who fasted denied unto themselves all : there was not the appetizing morsel nor the refreshing drink.

It was a month of trial, a test of fortitude and lesson in discipline. Just as without the right attitude the fast may become anything but a sublime experience, so in our national life in this critical hour, the need of a correct attitude, courage, unity, faith and discipline to keep things on an even keel.

I have always believed and do firmly believe that we have a great future as a nation. So let us rise to the occasion : civilian and soldier peasant and worker, student and teacher, businessman, doctor and judge every one to his post. It is not for any one of these elements to leave the task of arresting the deterioration to another. Every one must play his part ; let each one of you do his duty boldly, honestly and truthfully and we shall have soon realized the great ideals that had inspired us and inspire us today".

50. MESSAGE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1955

The followng message was issued to the nation by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of Independence Day in August, 1955.

(*Editor*)

"On this day of the 8th anniversary of Pakistan, I longed to breathe a free Republican Air, but I am deeply disappointed.

After eight long years we are still far from the realisation of our dream as an independent sovereign Republic and have been still looking across the seven seas for the incidence of sovereignty.

Instead of going forward, we have receded. Doubts are being cast on our political viability and stability, so as to frighten us away from our resolve to be an independent Republic.

Such a state of affairs was made possible by indulgence in power politics and personal aggrandisement and the prevalence of provincial and factional tendencies.

The Nation is fully aware of the course of events and although the people appear to be watching as mute spectators, their aspirations and hopes can be indefinitely ignored only at great peril.

The year that has gone by has witnessed tremendous convulsions in this country. The body politic of Pakistan went through many a change without any fruitful results so far.

The enthusiasm of the people cannot be harnessed by taking a line of action to the complete disregard of people's hopes and aspirations. There has been a clamour to cut off all the limitations to our sovereignty and I must caution that this problem can brook no further delay.

KASHMIR

The Kashmir problem remains unsolved and India continues to be in wrongful possession of the major portion of that beautiful State.

The Indian Prime Minister pleads for a fresh approach. I wish he could adopt his own advice and make a fresh approach to the problems—an approach in full accord with the wishes of the people of the land. On our part we are determined whatever the cost, to ensure that the people of Kashmir succeed in throwing off their bondage.

The problem of rehabilitation of refugees does not seem to have adequately attracted the attention of the authorities. Even in the Federal Capital, the condition of the refugees is pathetic. Their sub-human existence for the last seven years has failed to evoke any response in the hearts of the authorities.

The slow pace with which the work of this human problem is being tackled does not take into account the capacity of the desperate people.

On this auspicious day, therefore, let those who are in charge of the destiny of our Nation appreciate the magnitude of the task. They must realise that further delay is dangerous.

Quaid-i-Azam hoped to see Pakistan strong and mighty. I have, no doubt, that people of Pakistan yearn to see their country in the vanguard amongst the comity of nations."

51. SPEECH ON THE SEVENTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUID-I-AZAM, 1955

Following is the text of the speech of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah broadcast by Radio Pakistan on the occasion of the Seventh Anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam's death in September 1955.

(Editor)

"On this day of the Seventh Anniversary of the sad demise of the Quaid-i-Azam I am addressing the Nation as usual and share with you my feelings and thoughts on the occasion.

The fury of the floods has once again caused tremendous damage all over Pakistan, tearing asunder thousands of people from their hearths and homes. My deepest sympathies are with those who have suffered.

Today we are full of memories of the Quaid-i-Azam and one feels he is somewhere around, though we cannot see him. At moments the mind sees his warning finger, yes, one can almost hear him whisper: "Unity, Faith, Discipline." We are grieved that he is no more with us and yet his absence inspires us: his whole life was a model to pattern ours thereon. What a vacuum yawns between life and death! What difference between man and man!

IMPECCABLE CHARACTER

In this differentiation lies the story of man's character. After all what was it with which the Quaid-i-Azam had baffled his opponents and filled his followers with admiration? To my mind, it was the sterling worth of his impeccable character. He chose his path early in life—to serve his people and his country and then there was no turning back.

A simple Mussalman, he served his people with single-minded devotion and undaunted he crossed swords with the giants of his time and won; faced the opposition of a mighty empire and the hostility of a wealthy nation, but unswerving he went on, defied geography and created history when Pakistan was established—in 1947—crowning his efforts with success. But as a result of this strenuous struggle he had to give his life.

Since I spoke to you last, a year ago on this day, our national character has been put to test by a series of crises that shook the country. And what a spectacle did we behold? Here it was man speaking against his conscience, acting against his conscience; and thus were created various issues to divert

the attention of the nation from the problem of constitution-making and to cloak the soiled hand of intrigue and self-aggrandizement.

Last autumn democracy came to the verge of extinction when the Constituent Assembly, the recipient of our political sovereignty was dissolved. Whatever the reasons behind this move the consummation of our political freedom in the shape of the Republic of Pakistan has been delayed. I urge upon you to realise the gravity of the situation and bring home to all concerned that the Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan must be given top priority.

SORRY STATE OF AFFAIRS

When we ponder over the happenings since the Quaid-i-Azam's death seven years ago. we wonder what lights have been lit to show us the path of the realisation of our ideals, what destiny has been carved for us. We still hear that the erst-while policies of the last seven years shall be followed. Is there any pride in these policies that have brought the country to this sorry state of affairs?

Does it mean that the masses will continue to groan under the decadent, antiquated feudal system? What measures have been adopted to raise the standard of living of the poor? What plans have been made for the reorganisation of the economic system on a more equitable basis?

To these vital questions there is no answer. And let me tell you, you will not get an answer unless every one of you works for it in his own sphere and ensures through his representatives that these problems are tackled.

Instead, we find efforts being made in some quarters to decry the very values that were the guiding principles of the Pakistan movement, but you need not be down-hearted. If you are vigilant, bear in mind your ideals and work selflessly and courageously in the interest of the country all obstacles will melt away sooner than you expect. Your destiny is in your own hands.

The creation of Pakistan was a bold forward step in history; it came as a challenge to the existing ideas that had brought so much strife and misery to mankind in this part of the world. This rising tide of Muslim democracy came sweeping away the barriers of geography and language when we pronounced to the world our ideological nationhood under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

I am confident that no machinations or hidden alien hands will succeed in dividing our people Wherever we may be, we are one; members of one nation, citizens of Pakistan—this our homeland this land of our faith and our pride.

52 SPEECH ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1955

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's broadcast on the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday in December 1957.—It was for the first time since the Emergence of Pakistan that Madar-i-Millat was requested by the Government of Pakistan to broadcast a message to the Nation on the Birth-day of Quaid-i-Azam.

(Editor)

"For the second time during this year I am privileged to speak to you over the radio. This is an auspicious occasion being the birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Today, 79 years ago, on the soil of this city of Karachi the Quaid-i-Azam was born. Seventy-one years later in 1947 he returned to this city as the Head of an independent sovereign State whose creation has few parallels in world history.

He celebrated but one birthday in Pakistan but his 73 years of life are in themselves an immortal source of light guiding us, showing us the path and brightening up the camp of our destiny.

Our measure of appreciation of the Quaid-i-Azam's unique services to the nation can only be our readiness to stand by the principles he held dear all his life and to build up our State according to the ideals he placed before us.

His own achievement is so magnificent in quality, so epoch-making in character that it is above all formal expression of tribute and admiration. What after all was the secret of his success? The answer is very simple. He had invincible faith in his mission. This faith gave him self-confidence and self-reliance, which is the *cine qua non* of success in all activity.

Then, he trusted his people who, in their turn trusted him. It was an illustration of the old adage "trust begets trust."

From his earliest days he developed the attributes of incorruptible integrity, singleness of purpose and inflexible determination. These qualities gave him that strength of character and courage of conviction which enabled him to pursue the path of rectitude and selfless service, to fight against all odds, and finally to win success in the teeth of the bitterest opposition. He achieved Pakistan and left it as a precious legacy to the people.

What is it that we find today? Have we proved true to his legacy? What have we done to translate into reality his vision of the kind of State he wished Pakistan to be?

He wanted Pakistan to be an independent sovereign Republic. He wanted Pakistan to be a country which would be based on sure foundations of social justice, which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man. Can we claim that we have taken even elementary steps to make Pakistan such a country? *What is the position?*

Last year we had hoped to celebrate this day not only as his birthday but also as the birthday of the Republic of Pakistan. The nation had then been told that all plans were ready and the Constitution had been prepared; every one was looking forward to the moment when we would have torn off the symbolic yoke of foreign bondage which we still carry.

OPPORTUNITY SNATCHED

But then a conspiracy of circumstances snatched from us the opportunity! The nation was put back. We had to start all over again: The leeway instead of having been narrowed down, widened. The result has been that slow inroads are being made by foreign influence in all our walks of life.

We are now bogged down in the morass of controversies even on the basic issues which were settled matters but have again been allowed to become subjects of controversy.

What is most deplorable is the tendency of groups and individuals to approach even such a fundamental problem as the Constitution from the angle of parochial interests and political expediency.

A sacred task like constitution-making, which should have stirred us to high and selfless endeavour, has degenerated into maneuvoring and bargaining with a view to consolidating the position of groups or provinces.

Pakistan is the culmination of a movement which was inspired by certain ideals. If in constitution-making, these ideals are lost sight of, or given the go by, the very force which sustains Pakistan as a united country and a distinct political entity will have been lost.

Millions of Mussalmans of this sub-continent did not make the greatest sacrifices merely to bring into being a country without any inspiring ideology or distinctive character of its own. Nor did they undergo the most terrible sufferings only to provide opportunities for self-aggrandisement and enrich-ment to certain privileged people

They enthusiastically responded to the call of the Quaid-i-Azam, because he conjured up before them, in all seriousness and sincerity, the vision of a

land where they would have unrestricted scope to shape their lives according to their faith, culture and ideology.

This called for a struggle entailing untold sufferings and sacrifices which the people willingly bore. It was the glory of the Pakistan Movement, led by the Quaid-i-Azam, that it derived its strength and motivating force from the will and aspirations of the people.

This enthusiasm was aroused because they saw the vision of a high ideal and found their innermost aspirations embodied in the Pakistan Movement.

Thus alone are people roused to heights of endeavour and sacrifice. It cannot be done by force, coercion or regimentation.

The Pakistan Movement was directed in a democratic spirit, by democratic methods, towards democratic ends, namely the establishment of a free social order based on Islamic principles wherein the will of the people would prevail and wherein they would be free from fear, want and distress.

Let me tell you once again and with all the emphasis at my command that political stability and certainty is the basis of national strength and stability in all spheres of life. To lean on others, therefore, is to violate the dictum of the Quaid-i-Azam of 'Faith, Unity and Discipline'.

What we see before us today is anything but the right step towards the realisation of the Quaid-i-Azam's vision of Pakistan. I want to remind you not to forget the power that lies latent in you. After all it was by your united voice and organized strength and the force of your opinion that you wrested Pakistau out of the unwilling hands.

True, the Quaid-i-Azam is not in our midst today, we miss his leadership. But his spirit and ideals are there. His example and his precepts are there. They beckon to us to shed all selfishness and narrowness of mind and feeling. There is certainly no reason why you should allow yourselves to be mute spectators of all that goes on before your eyes.

It is for you to create a public opinion which would put an effective step to all underhand dealings, all intrigues, all selfish bargaining, all attempts to push parochial interests above the national interests.

Too long has the destiny of the nation been trifled with. It is time the people with one voice called a halt. You must create an atmosphere which would make it impossible for your representatives to evade any further, their bounden duty of giving you a workable Constitution which would unite the two wings of our country into a harmonious whole and give the fullest sense of security and satisfaction to every section of the population.

Pakistan must have a Constitution which would set it firmely on the road to the realisation of these ideals and principles. There should be no doubt

as to what the country wants. We want the sovereign Republic; we want the Constitution and we want direct elections to bring the true representatives of the people in the Government.

Delay, let me warn you, shall be dangerous. Time is yet to arrest this harmful tendency and put an end to this hesitation, diffidence and indecision; it is for you all to take active measures in this direction, wherever you may be, within the sphere of your activity.

Let me assure you that you can play a significant part to pull the country out of the prevailing gloom. You are a nation of 80 million people. Your destiny is in your own hands.

Moral force—a force that springs from integrity and character and willingness to suffer and sacrifice for a just cause is greater than any other force and always prevails in the end. That is the great lesson taught to us by history and by the Quaid-i-Azam. Let us translate this lesson again into practice".

53. SPEECH AT A FOUNDATION STONE LAYING CEREMONY, 1955

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah laid the foundation stone of the Khatoon-i-Pakistan Education and Welfare Board High School. On this occasion Miss Jinnah delivered the following speech, in December, 1955.

(Editor)

"I am very happy to perform the pleasant duty of laying the foundation of this Girls High School, on this auspicious day and welcome you all to this ceremony. This marks a definite step forward to the realisation of the plan which I and other members of the Education and Welfare Board have had in mind for a long time.

It has been my idea to organise a school and later on a college for girls which would provide the best kind of education based on national lines and embodying the most modern techniques.

Unfortunately in our country we are still tied down to a hackneyed and stereotyped system of education which has hardly any touch with our national heritage and aspirations. It lacks the vital spark which imparts energy and vigour to the mind and personality of the student.

Education is not mere acquisition of book-knowledge or a certain pedantary and refinement which one can flaunt to emphasise one's fellowmen. Real education is a process whereby all the latent faculties—physical, mental, moral and spiritual—of the youth are evoked, nursed, cultivated and developed so as to promote a well-balanced and integrated personality capable and willing to play its part in spreading light and learning and serving the society to the utmost of its capacity and strength.

PROPHET'S SAYINGS

I would like to quote here an abstract from the sayings of the Holy Prophet on the acquisition of knowledge, which puts in a nut-shell the meaning of real education.

Acquire knowledge ; it enableth its possessor to distinguish right from wrong : it lighteth the way to heaven ; it is our friend in the desert ; our society in solitude; our companion when friendless; it guideth us to happiness; it sustaineth us in misery. It is an ornament amongst friends and an armour against enemies.'

It is not for me to go into a detailed examination of the existing sy of education and the working of our educational institutions. But I ca help drawing attention to two things—firstly our educational system is dated ; it fails to touch the inner springs of life ; secondly it does not advantage of the new scientific techniques and methods which have evolved for the purpose of developing the instinctive faculti.s of youth.

Undoubtedly the overhauling of the educational system calls for conce and sustained efforts by both official and non-official agencies. It cert does not brook any delay and the sooner the task of giving a national reo tation to education is taken up in right earnest, the better.

It is only a truly national educational system that can release the cre impulses of the people, engender a legitimate feeling of pride in their cul heritage and put them on the path of constructive endeavour. That however, take some time. But I feel that there is nothing which can pre us from employing modern scientific techniques and laying emphasis character-building and social and moral training even within the framewo the educational system such as prevails in our schools and colleges today.

BEST TRADITIONS

It is our hope and endeavour to organise this girls school on such that it would train the girls in the best traditions of Muslim womenh While imparting knowledge of various arts and sciences to them, this sc would aim at building up their character and fitting them for their role daughters, wives, mothers and individuals, sharing the rights and respons ties of the citizenship of a free State.

Education should help broaden the mind as well as the sympathies enable the individual to adopt the correct attitude and behaviour in diffe phases and spheres of existence.

In the case of the girls the inculcation of correct behaviour and r values becomes doubly important, for they have it in them to bring up a w new generation. Rightly has it been said : 'If you educate a man you cate one individual, if you educate a woman, you educate a whole far Moreover in every society it is the woman who is the custodian of the social and cultural traditions of a community. It is she who maintains home as the real pivot of all national activity, progress and prosperity.

The women of Pakistan, if they are true to the traditions of their and culture, can demonstrate the correct balance between the demands of society and the home, the national life and the family life. It is for the prove that the attributes of grace modesty and moral dignity can be prese along with the acquisition of modern knowlege and learning.

HOSTEL AND COLLEGE

It is with these ideas and hopes that we are setting out on this venture of founding a Girls School at this site. We have acquired this piece of land which has an area of 13-1/2 acres. This site has the advantage of being removed from the din and noise of the town and here we can plan and build our buildings and playgrounds without feeling cramped. Our immediate target is to found a Girls School. We also propose to build a hostel and later on a college.

I hope and pray that this Board is enabled to translate those ideals into practice. Each one of you can contribute his or her mite and perform his important duty to his country and to his nation.

In the end I appeal to those whom God has blessed with the wherewithal to help the establishment, growth and promotion of these institutions to come out in a generous spirit for help and assistance to us. Time is an important factor. Every academical year wasted deprives thousands of boys and girls of their education.

I therefore appeal for a munificent and generous response to the fulfilment of the programme and project which this Board has adopted. I sincerely thank you all for coming to attend this ceremony and I pray to God that our efforts to provide better educational facilities for our girls may be crowned with success."

54. SPEECH AT RAZA ALI COLLEGE, 1956

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered this speech while inaugurating Raza Ali College Students Union, in January 1956.

(*Editor*)

"Effective education deals directly with current problems. Without courage and sacrifice we can achieve nothing and I pray and hope that the students of this college will develop those characteristics which are essential for the betterment of individual as well as the Millat.

A modern state is a welfare state, which has to look after the basic needs of the people. Education is not only a primary need but is also one of the strongest pillars on which progress of the country depends. But the paucity of educational facilities has become so acute that education has been largely commercialised even in big cities like the Capital itself.

Good schools and colleges in sufficient number are lacking. The beginning of each academical year witnesses a gate-crash of anxious parents for admission of their children and a host of disappointed guardians. The only way to meet it is to remove these difficulties with a will and determination.

It is only when every single educated man and woman, puts his shoulder to the wheel and performs his duty of helping the nation to get educated, that the object will be achieved. It is therefore with great pleasure that I take this opportunity of congratulating the organizers of this college, which imparts education both in science and arts.

It is a common place of the real Muslim society that education is indispensable to the maintenance and growth of freedom of thought, faith, enterprise and association. Thus the role of education is at once to ensure equal liberty and opportunity to all the individuals and to enable the citizens to understand, appraise and redirect forces, men and events for the benefit of the country. In performing this role education will necessarily vary its means and methods but it will achieve its ends more successfully if its programmes and policies are relevant to the characteristics and needs of our society. Effective education would deal directly with current problems. Without courage and sacrifice we can achieve nothing and I pray and hope that the students of this college will develop those characteristics which are essential for the betterment of the individual as well as the Millat.

IMPORTANT TASK

With the provision of adult franchise as the basis of election to our representative bodies including the highest parliament of the land, it is obligatory upon us to educate every single adult of this country because it is ultimately in his hand that the Government of the country vests. If he is educated, he is in a position to guide and he can always refuse to be led astray. It is therefore a very important task for the fulfilment of the destiny of this country. We have proudly proclaimed to the world that we are the inheritors of the noble ideology, principles and traditions. Education alone can help us to translate that ideology into practice. Education does not of course mean mere book knowledge.

It is the training of the mind, building of character and inculcation of truly patriotic spirit and love for Pakistan, which includes love for its ideology and principles on which its conception was founded. No educational institution which ignores these fundamentals has any right to claim credit for its existence.

DUTY

Every educated Pakistani ought to deem it his duty to discharge the burden of eradicating illiteracy from this land. I have always advocated the need for an adult literacy drive. In a new country, determined to share the political power with every adult citizen, a campaign of literacy drive must be set up. Political independence brings in its trail the political power. Given a proper direction this power is potentially sufficient to create conditions of a better and more contented life. To wield this power you must have sound sagacity and robust common sense, coupled with an intimate knowledge of the current happenings both in your midst and around you. To have this knowledge, you must be able to create a nation of literates able to read, understand, appreciate, analyse the events of the day and think independently. No greater service will pay.

CULTURAL INTERESTS

Education looks both to the nature of knowledge and to the good of man in society. If education is to be comprehensive, it should be organised in such a way as to unify the most fundamental cultural interests of the society in which we live. It is indeed regrettable that our present society tolerates social evils in a liberal way. I want the youth of the nation to put down any social evils which may make their inroads in the society.

With these words I wish your union all success and I hope and pray that in course of time it may become a nursery of true and selfless patriots, who will bring credit, honour and glory to their country."

55. SPEECH ON THE ROLE OF PRESS, 1956

The following is the text of Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech on the role of Press, made in February 1956.

(Editor)

"I need not remind you of the great part that our press played in the struggle for freedom and the creation of Pakistan against all manner of odds : the Muslim Press in its infancy had to contend with stalwarts of the Hindu newspaper world and press organization in pre-partition India.

But we made our voice heard, and carried the message of Pakistan from house to house till the truth of our cause was realised by all. It was a magnificent struggle wherein the role of the press was equally magnificent, honourable and worthy of praise.

Unfortunately that is not true today. The great change, indeed the revolution that was brought about by the birth of Pakistan, called for a new and entirely different approach by the press : its role changed ; it was not to be primarily an agitator for freedom or a propagator of Pakistan ; it was now to be the guardian of independence ; the spokesman of the people's rights and the interpreter of the dumb masses ; above all its new role was to watch and encourage the development of democratic and Islamic institutions.

The physical change was sudden while the psychological adjustments took as is natural, a longer time. And as the change came about, I am sorry to say the press lost its moorings and the result was a confused approach to national problems.

It is not for me here to analyse the causes of the political neuroses, which has had the country in grip for the last few years. But in such situations an increased responsibility is naturally placed on all members of the body-politic, vocal sections of the public and above all the press which is the most important and effective instrument of public opinion.

REGRETS

I regret to say that the press largely failed to play its part and, in my opinion, the deteriorating situation was to some extent worsened by the unsophisticated and often irresponsible attitude of the press.

It was partly due to inexperience, but largely there was a complete failure of appreciation of the correct role of the press, with the net result that the press in Pakistan has today ceased to have the influence over the public it had, its

voice no longer commands the respect it used to enjoy, and what is more the faith of our people has been shaken in the integrity and good sense of the press.

If an atmosphere is created whereby it will be possible to once again build a healthy and strong press, a great service to the country and the posterity shall have been rendered

This can be possible if the press comes out boldly and fearlessly to speak the truth ; if you are prepared not to pamper to power ; not to shield the anti-social elements but make it your duty to expose even the highest and the mightiest if their activities are against the political, economic and social interests of the country.

For once, forget personalities—and look to the issues that effect the country ; forget individuals and look to the parties and do not become prejudiced in your like or dislike for one or the other individual or group.

QUAID'S LESSON

As Quaid-i-Azam once said, talking to the representatives of the press, express your views honestly, fearlessly and independently and do not hesitate to criticise any body if he is going wrong even if it is your Quaid i-Azam.

Press has a very important role to play. They have to keep a track on the leaders' activities and acquaint the people with them and to inform the leaders of the people's demands and reactions They, therefore, fulfil a very important obligation in a democratic world of keeping the democracy functioning in an efficient manner.

It is, therefore, a great privilege that they are the vehicles of public opinion and in that capacity it is their duty to express the views of the public without fear or favour so that they present a true picture of the current opinion in the country. They give no pledges to the electorates; but theirs is a greater duty to look after the public interests.

Freedom of the press is great bulwark of a country's democracy. If the freedom of the press is not ensured, democracy will thrive with difficulty. It is necessary in the interest of Pakistan at times to expose machinations and to tear asunder the intriguing leadership.

But all this is only possible if the hammer of authority is not allowed to be wielded in personal interest against the rising press of Pakistan and for this purpose our Constitution must ensure the highest measure of freedom of the press.

But this great power for good or for evil which the press is able to enjoy will have to be utilized by the press for the sole purpose of the benefit of the

country in complete disregard of personal likes and dislikes or aggrandisem and material benefits.

NEED OF SACRIFICE

No great mission is achieved in the world without a sacrifice. The p must shake off temptations and tendencies and must impose its even cod conduct and high moral values to ensure respect for every word that is writ If this is done the press will inspire fullest public confidence and respect.

It is of utmost importance that press should impose its own restrict rather than afford an opportunity to the politicians or maladministrator justify their restrictive legislations.

Your profession attracts only the enlightened and educated class people. It should, therefore, be easy for you to lay down a professic conduct, which ensures that the freedom is not reduced to a licence and utilized in the development of a strong constructive and healthy public opir in Pakistan.

I may mention here that while it is the duty of the press to keep the pu well-informed on international events and foreign affairs it should not be m the primary concern of the newspapers to dish out materials and articles writ with an alien bias

NATIONAL PROBLEMS IGNORED

Enough attention is not being paid by our press to our national proble which need constant and varied presentation and examined from all angl and in an effort to tickle the fancy of the pseudo intellectual the case of c people goes by default ?

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56. SPEECH AT A FUNCTION IN KHOJA GIRLS ORPHANAGE, 1956

While presiding over the annual birthday party of the children of the Khoja Girls' Orphanage Madar-i-Millat Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech in February 1956.

(Editor)

"I assure you, it is a great pleasure for me to be with the children and spend some time amongst them. You were running a similar institution in Bombay, which Quaid-i-Azam and myself had the opportunity to visit and it is indeed heartening that soon after Partition you laid the foundation of this institution in Karachi.

Children are a great asset and trust of the nation and, therefore, it is necessary to educate and equip them properly so that instead of a liability, they may become good members of the society and serve the nation and the country.

This difficult task and unostensible social service, which you are carrying on, is an example for others to follow.

This institution of yours besides looking after the welfare of a large number of orphan girls also imparts academic education upto Matriculation and trains them in house-keeping, cooking, sewing, nursing and home-accounting, etc. so that they may be able to brighten their future and play their role as good citizens.

The number of children on your roll is about 45 and 30 more cannot be taken for want of funds. What better service can there be than to help the orphan children on which our Prophet (may peace be on him) laid so much emphasis.

I hope you would receive generous help from one and all and the Government will also grant you the aid applied for, which you rightly deserve.

WORD TO THE CHILDREN

All possible comforts and opportunities have been provided for you. Take full advantage of it, work hard and equip yourself. That alone will enable you to succeed in life.

Wish your institution all success."

57. REMARKS ON THE MAKING OF 1956 CONSTITUTION

While commenting on the successful culmination of the struggle for the Constitution Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah made the following remarks in March 1956.

(*Editor*)

"After a struggle of eight long years the country gets a Constitution and we will soon see the dawn of the Republic of Pakistan. Thank Allah! general elections should be held without delay which will be a proper culmination to mark the end of the period of the struggle.

You have been guaranteed your rights, your liberties and your freedoms. Guard them jealously and vigilantly. They will be dear to us for the process by which they have been achieved, had been the more prolonged and painful.

But, remember, this is just the beginning. Much remains to be done in the future to fulfil the ideology for which Pakistan came into being."

;8. SPEECH AT URDU COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1956

The following is the text of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered at the College Day and prize distribution function of the Urdu College, Karachi in March 1956.

(Editor)

"I am glad to be here this afternoon to preside over the annual prize ·ibution function of Urdu College. I have been watching the development our pioneer institute with great interest and I am gratified to see it ;ress steadily from year to year.

Independence of a country has no meaning unless it is assertive in all the ırtments of its life. But it is regrettable that adequate attention has not ι paid, after the achievement of Pakistan, to reorganise the educational ɜm according to our requirements.

It is a common place of the real Muslim society that education is spensable to the maintenance and growth of freedom of thought, faith, rprise and association.

Thus the role of education is at once to ensure equal liberty and equal ortunity to all the individuals and to enable the citizens to understand, :aise and redirect forces, men and events for the benefit of the country.

In performing this role education will necessarily vary its means and hods but it will achieve its ends more successfully if its programmes and cies are relevant to the characteristics and needs of our society.

Education looks both to the nature of knowledge and to the good of ι in society. If education is to be comprehensive, it should be organised ıch a way as to unify the most fundamental cultural interests of our ple.

TRADITIONAL GLORY

Orient has unfortunately lost its traditional glory in the sphere of :ation. A population steeped in ignorance is no asset to a free country. Government in modern times is an extremely complex and complicated ınisation, requiring the highest talents to inure its sound working.

Therefore, the Government of a free country ought to be shaped and ated by people thereof. Education alone can equip the people to shoulder important task of vigilance.

Uneducated and under-educated people may even turn a menace to the very existence of the State, nay its ill effects may traverse to generations to come.

The education in our freedom loving country has to be thoroughly revolutionised so that it can play a vital role in shaping the destiny of the country according to our national aspirations. This requires that the medium of instruction should be our own *lingua franca*. Thus only the progress of education can be accelerated, enveloping not only the children but the youth and adults also.

We want to see Pakistanis treat each other as equals, that is, as persons who have equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness. There need be nothing contradictory in the attitude of man to his duty to himself or to his community or the wider society.

SELFISHNESS

The root cause is selfishness. There is a defect in the prevailing ideas about conduct. Somehow in the complex circumstances of life, solicitude about what happens to others is lost in selfishness.

I must say towards all this each one of us owes a personal responsibility. The idea of responsibility contains the essence of morality and must have honesty for its hall mark.

There is the idea of duty in it, namely that which one person owes to others and at the same time it means that the matured individual has the right to make his own decision as to what his duty is.

This clearly reveals that responsibility is linked in our thought with the idea of man's personal freedom in organising our institutions. We must take closer account of their relation to the contemporary work and that students should be taught things which are useful for living and working.

PURPOSE CLEAR

In life you have to participate actively as an individual and responsible citizen in solving social, economic and political problems of your community and the nation. Whatever the methods developed, the purpose of life is clear.

The objective of our education should be to fit men and women to understand broad cultural foundation, the significant accomplishments and unfinished business of their society, to participate intelligently in community life and public affairs.

In this context I must also draw your attention to the necessity of universal literacy. We must destroy illiteracy

LITERACY CRUSADE

The time element is important. The effort must be concerted and sustained. It is your duty which you owe to your country and to your Millat to see that your unfortunate brethren, who are not literate, are made literate by your efforts. I mean your personal efforts. The literacy crusade is a national job and requires special attention of every individual.

Let me assure you that you can play a significant part in restoring the right moral values and the spirit of enthusiasm needed to pull the country out of the prevailing gloom.

Let every one of us take a resolve that we will, both by precept aad practice, make the people realise that they must recapture their souls. You have nothing to fear; your destiny is in your own hands.

MORAL FORCES

Moral forces, the force that springs from integrity and character and willingness to suffer and sacrifice for a just cause is greater than any other force and always prevails in the end. That is the great lesson taught to us by history and by the example of the Pakistan Movement and the Quaid-i-Azam. Let us translate this lesson again into practice.

With these words I congratulate the winners of today's prizes. There is no doubt that the development of this institution into a full-fledged university will be a mile-stone in the field of education. I, therefore, associate myself with this aspiration of yours and wish your college and the Foundation Week all success."

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59. SPEECH AT SHAH ABDUL LATIF COLLEGE OLD BOYS ASSOCIATION, 1956

Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the inauguration ceremony of the Shah Abdul Latif Government College Old Boys Association at Mirpurkhas in March, 1956.

(Editor)

"I have great pleasure in addressing you today on the inauguration of the Shah Abdul Latif Government College Old Boys Association. I was very much touched by the sincere and pressing invitation to come to Mirpurkhas and I am glad to be in your midst on this occasion.

Shah Abdul Latif has been the fountain-head of inspiration in these areas. He has left behind an indelible impression of his personality and moulded the thought, aspirations and ambitions of the people of this region. His name being associated with your institution is in itself a sufficient inspiration for the old boys as well as the present students of the college to serve, as Shah Abdul Latif did, the people around and to inspire them to serve others. Shah Abdul Latif's philosophy needs to be inculcated not only by the people of this region but by all the people of Pakistan.

REAL LIFE

My young friends; you are on the threshold of a new but real life. The delightful and carefree youthful days are no more. You will now come in contact with hard realities of life, far different from the cosy edifice of rose and honey that you may have built for yourself. But let not your courage fail you. The trials and tribulations of early life prepare you for a brighter and better future which no one will deny to you if you refuse to swerve from the path of righteousness and honesty, whatever the temptations, I hope and sincerely pray that the time you have spent in acquiring knowledge would enable you to face the destiny that is in store for you with courage and conviction.

You are lucky today that there is no obstacle barring your way to the highest ambitions which you may have nourished for yourself, but I hope these will be coupled with love, loyalty and service to your country and the Millat. Your nation and you have to fulfil your destiny. This you can do only if you have faith in yourself. I pray that the courage of your convictions will help you to face the enemies of the country, may they be from

within or from without. Fight through life and life's difficulties at every stage, without losing your heart and God will help you to success. You must play your part and carry out your responsibilities and duties entrusted to you, so that in every branch you may come out as an emblem of the great and able Pakistani youth.

We have many gigantic problems facing us today. Independence of a country is not in itself the panacea of all ills. Independence only opens out a vast vista of opportunities for the youth of the land in order to help the country to remodel the social order and the economic and political set-up in conformity with their ideals and national requirements. Political freedom is a basis for achieving the freedom from want for the common man. This requires incessant effort and work on the part of the youth.

FOREIGN RULE

We have good deal of lee-way to make up. One hundred fifty years of foreign rule have created a sense of lethargy and dependence upon others. Progress of the country is hampered by this idea of dependence. Each one of us must do his or her best towards building up Pakistan. We have unlimited resources and we must quickly utilize them. The world is progressing so rapidly and with such terrific speed that we cannot afford to lose time. But these targets will be a distinct goal unless we unite to construct and to build a State worthy of our great heritage, so that history can look back upon our time as a time of great people who did not fail to do their duty. You cannot write pages of history in letters of gold unless you are prepared not only to shed perspiration but also to undergo tears and toil. You have to practice self-denial, give up self-aggrandisement and think not of self but more of the Nation to which you belong. This is only possible by work and more work.

To you, therefore, my most sincere appeal is to lend your shoulders to the wheel of the progress of Pakistan by putting in as much constructive work as you possibly can. The speed with which the youth will galvanise itself to this noble task, will ultimately determine the pace of progress of Pakistan. To the youth, Pakistan is the great legacy of their beloved Quaid-i-Azam. Quaid-i-Azam has in his last message directed the people of Pakistan to utilize the abundant resources of Pakistan for its betterment and it is for you to pay heed to those noble words and by constructive work and effort to achieve that goal.

GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

We shall soon be a Republic, where Pakistan's sovereignty will be

accepted without fetters - symbolical or actual. This therefore is a great achievement. It shall have far-reaching consequences in the political sphere as well as on the psychology of our people. We cease now to draw inspiration from across the seas. Our unequivocal demand has at last borne fruit and I congratulate the people of Pakistan.

The Pakistan movement was directed in a democratic spirit by democratic methods, towards democratic ends, namely the establishment of a free social order wherein the will of the people would prevail and wherein they would be free from fear, want and distress. Pakistan can and Insha Allah will live and survive by constantly keeping in view these broad objectives which alone can inspire and enthuse the people and lead them to the path of effort and if need be, suffering and sacrifice. We are a nation of 80 million people with a glorious past, rich with traditions of sacrifice and noble endeavour.

The Constitution has been framed, which will have to be followed by general elections. Great responsibility rests on your shoulders to see that the right, selfless and honest representatives of the Nation are elected, who will serve the people and the country in a spirit of true service.

Because of unity, born of unwavering faith in Islamic ideology we brought Pakistan into being. Now we cannot think in the terms of Islamic renaissance in the world of today, if our own house is divided, if our strength is not dissipated by creating flanks amongst ourselves, if we do not divert our energy to fighting our own differences and dissensions, if we do not emphasise trivial and temporary matters but sacrifice them at the altar of abiding faith in the future if we do not oblige our opponents and our enemies, surely there is no force in the world that can arrest the march of this caravan to its destination."

60. SPEECH AT GOVT. GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL, MIRPURKHAS, 1956

Addressing the students of the Government Girls High School Mirpurkhas, Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech in March 1956.

(Editor)

"It is always a source of great pleasure for me to have an opportunity of visiting educational institutions, and I am glad to be here this afternoon to address you on my first visit to Mirpurkhas.

After the establishment of Pakistan our life has taken a rebirth and we should equip and mould ourselves according to new requirements and conditions. Do not forget that we have a glorious past and are possessors of a great cultural heritage, and our contribution to the development of universal culture and civilisation has been of no mean importance.

The progress made by our ancestors in the subjects of mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, architecture and medicine, etc., is a recognised fact. Their patronage of the learned, their efforts in expanding education, their labour in research work and their establishing hundreds of educational institutions, where people used to come from distant lands to acquire knowledge, is not mere fiction but forms a bright chapter of world history and you can rightly be proud of it. But when they took to luxuries and worldly comforts, according to the laws of nature and traditions of history, they lost their independence and sovereignty and these achievements also became a matter of the past, so much so that even its memory has been effaced from your minds

You may not be unaware of anything else, but are certainly unaware of your past glorious history. It was in these circumstances that Quaid-i-Azam stood up to guide our destinies and by working day and night, he miraculously achieved this land for you. Now yours is the responsibility to receive such education and training as may enable you to fulfil your mission.

ACHIEVEMENTS

In Pakistan you come across a wide—spread clamour against corruption, inefficiency, poverty and ignorance. In a society that caters or clings to these evils for long, there must be something radically wrong with the system of education or lack of it. Musalmans cannot be dubbed inferior to any body else. Their brilliant achievements have been recorded in golden letters in the

pages of history. In these records women have not failed to play a dazzling role beside their menfolk at times leading and inspiring them. It is not due to innate inferiority. It is due to a faulty system of education that we have inherited.

By education I do not mean only book education but the training and the mental outlook which is developed on the present system of education. Notwithstanding high intellectual attainments, it tends to impair the healthy spirit of human energy, soundness of judgment and to produce selfishness and a deficient sense of national service and solidarity.

Certain elements appear to be encouraging private advantage to the disregard of national good. This injury to national life has succeded in engendering an unhealthy spirit of selfishness in public life also. Knowledge appears to be acquired not for its own sake but for the glory of its possessor, who lives in the lands for his own individual or material glory.

Another great defect of the present system of education is that so much stress is laid on knowledge for its own sake that physical development, building of character and the power of determination are altogether neglected.

Youth appears to have quenched his thirst with crystal clear water from which health-giving ingredients have been unconsciously removed. Education of this sort should have no place in an independent community.

ILLS OF SOCIETY

Every hour, every day and every year that we waste, creates a further gap between us and the fast developing world. Planning does not help, if it does not take the existing ills of the society into account Education should denote an attempt on the part of the adult members of society to shape the development of the coming generation in accordance with its own ideals of life and its culture.

In a country where large numbers are steeped in ignorance, we must take revolutionary steps in eradicating this ignorance immediately or else it will hamper the progress of the State. We must not forget that establishment of Pakistan was also one such revolution. In a span of seven years Quaid-i-Azam's determination shook up and thundered to make Pakistan a reality. Make up your mind to tread the path of glory with faith, courage and determination and your efforts will be crowned with success.

I find that there are no colleges for girls here. Therefore the higher education of the girls is handicapped very much. Effort should be made to establish colleges for girls in all big cities. I hope the people of Mirpurkhas will take the initiative and establish a girls college. I wish you all success."

61. STATEMENT ON REPUBLIC DAY, 1956

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah issued the following statement on the Republic Day on 23 March, 1956

(Editor)

"From today sovereignty rests with the people—in law and in fact. All stiges of alien overlordship are gone ; all allegiance is to Pakistan. Our ,hting forces in the Army, the Navy and the Air Force are free of symbolic :s and loyalties. Henceforward the administration, the services and all our stitutions must look to the people and the people alone. The organized ll of the people is supreme.

Let us now work to build Pakistan into a democratic, strong and progres- 'e State, in conformity with the lofty ideals of the Pakistan movement ; let :edom, justice and happiness reach the lowest of the low ; let the ordinary an have faith and pride in himself and in Pakistan. Let us march on with termination and discipline, bearing in mind the lessons of the recent past, lously guarding the institutions provided in the Constitution of the Republic. ıe future of the nation is in your hands."

62. SPEECH AT S. M. COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1956

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech at the S. M. College, Karachi, made in April 1956.

(Editor)

"I thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to address you on the occasion of the Annual Day of your College.

History will record with letters of gold the magnificent events leading the Muslim India to the achievement of their goal. But these magnificent pages of history should not be allowed to be tarnished by our lack of faith in our ability to preserve what has been achieved after tremendous difficulties, and sacrifices. History of Pakistan is the history of trials and triumphs. Those who wish Pakistan to triumph must be prepared to suffer tears, toils, trials and tribulations. They must be prepared to perish so that Pakistan may flourish, It is in that spirit of self-effacement that they can make history the pages of which will be as glorious as the pages of that period which helped us to achieve our goal. I have had the good fortune to be in the thick of the struggle of independence by the side of Quaid-i-Azam and have gone through various stages, ups and downs of our movement. Most of you who were then school children also have gone through the good fortune of participating in the sacrifice. The greatest joy for all of us today is that we are enjoying the fruits of our labour in achieving our freedom and independence.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

The proclamation of the Republic is a further and logical step towards the strengthening and consolidation of its independence. As I remarked recently, it represents the triumph of the will of the people. It is a fulfilment of their ideological aspiration. But you must not run away with the idea that with the establishment of the Republic' your task is over and you can rest on your laurels. Freedom and independence cannot remain in a nebulous or amorphous stage. You have to clothe it with flesh and blood. Freedom has to be translated into the terms of a society, an economy and a polity animated by Islamic ideals which alone had inspired and stirred millions of our brethren to undergo the greatest hardships and sacrifices. Eternal vigilance, as you must have heard is the price of freedom. Every nation which values its freedom and wishes to keep it as a live and operative factor in its life has to pay this price,

During the transition period following the attainment of freedom every nation has to guard itself against all those forces—internal or external which seek to undermine its unity and solidarity, to cripple its morale and self-confidence and to reduce it to a state of apathy and dependency. Real freedom consists in the inner ability and strength to pursue your ideas, to work out your destiny and to build up a happy, healthy and prosperous life for all your people without let or hinderance.

FOOD SHORTAGE

Currently there is a food shortage in the country. It is a matter of sorrow that a country which till a few years ago had food surplus should have been reduced to the state of deficit. It is a moot point whether the food shortage is real or is the result of anti-social practices, but the fact remains that there is a shortage of food and we are obliged to ask for outside aid to meet our requirements. In these circumstances, it is nothing short of national crime that a section of the people indulge in extravagance and feasting involving enormous wastage of food. All such extravagant feasting should be stopped until we are self-sufficient Let me tell you that the people are always ready to respond to the right lead. They are capable of the biggest sacrifices. Only set an example and guide them aright.

If yau can convince the people that by putting up with hardships and inconveniences over a period of time, they can lay sure foundations for the future prosperity of the country, you will certainly be able to evoke whole-hearted response from them. You cannot kindle any spark of enthusiasm in their hearts, if you remain cooped up in your narrow grooves of self-seeking and self-aggrandisement. You have to work for and among them.

You owe it to yourself and to posterity to see to it that the country which came into existence as a result of truly democratic urge does not drift away from the path of true democracy. The force of public opinion has at last prevailed and your will is reflected in the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. You have proved that you will have nothing less than full-blooded democracy and will not countenance any checks on your democratic freedom.

The country has been passing through vicissitudes and we cannot yet claim that we are entirely out of the woods. You have to remain vigilant and guard your democratic rights. It does not behove a free people to be mute spectators of what goes on in the country. They should realise that their destiny is in their own hands, only if they knew how to make proper use of their inherent powers. There is a very unhealthy tendency among our people to sit back and indulge in mere idle gossip and criticism. But when the time comes to make up their

mind, they turn away from the hard realities and remain inert and apathetic. This is not the mode of behaviour of a free independent people.

ELECTIONS

Freedom casts responsibilities on you from which you cannot get away. Sooner or later you will have general elections. That will be an occasion which will provide you with the opportunity of using your democratic rights; it will also be a test of your political consciousness.

To ensure the successful working of your democratic institutions, you have to use your franchise in such a way that your elected representatives truly represent your opinions and interests and properly perform their duties in the legislatures.

You have to see to it that the men you elect do not run after Ministers and officials for personal favours. The constituency of an elected representative must keep a constant watch on him and hold him to account for discharge of his public duties. It is not the function of a legislator alone but of all thinking people to consider all issues and problems of national life and to form and express their opinions freely and fearlessly. Having made up your mind you have to take a stand and make your choice as to the government that must serve you and the policies and programmes it must follow. This is a responsibility which people in every democratic society shoulder The exercise of this responsibility calls for clear thinking, character, courage, fearlessness and sacrifice. You have to develop these qualities if you wish to live as respected citizens of a free state.

EDUCATION SYSTEM

Our educational institutions also have to play an important part in this behalf. They have to re-adjust themselves so as to conform to the conditions and requirements of a free independent Pakistan. The role of educational institutions in independent Pakistan has to be different from what it was in pre-partition India. The system of education should be so designed as to produce men with powers of original and free thinking, initiative, judgment, selflessness and missionary zeal to promote national good. With the attainment of freedom the whole concept and purpose of education must undergo a radical change In the first instance your education must be closely related to national ideology culture and aspirations It must equip and prepare you to perform with energy and efficiency every task in the service of the nation and the state. It must bring about a psychological change, a change of outlook. A democratic state has to be a welfare state. In whatever capacity you may be called upon to work whether as a Minister or an administrator, an executive

a soldier or a technician, you have to conduct yourself as one who wishes to serve his people from an inner urge and not to rule or dominate over them.

MENTAL SERVILITY

With the end of political servitude, the servile attitude of mind also must go. It is as much a sign of mental servility to accept and imitate everything that bears the stamp of the West and of modernity as to stick to everything coming from the past and sanctified by tradition, ideas, values and modes have to be tested and assessed in the light of your knowledge and the fundamentals of your faith. Education does not consist in burdening your mind with a dead weight of inert and lifeless ideas and facts and figuers. It is rather a process which must stimulate your power of thinking and your latent faculties and energies. It is a process which must help mould your character and equip you with moral qualities like integrity, selflessness. courage, fellow-feeling, sympathy and willingness to put the national good above the personal interest.

A WORD TO PARENTS

Here I must address a word to parents and guardians also. It was the glory of the Muslim society that the home was the pivot on which the entire social and cultural super-structure was rested. It was in the home that lasting foundations were laid for the building of character and the development of moral qualities. I would not say that our homes now are not functioning as effectively in the strengthening of character and moral fibre as they used to do before. This is indeed a serious matter deserving of urgent attention from all parents and guardians who are interested in ensuring a happy future for the rising generation. You cannot neglect your duty and obligation towards your youth and leave everything to the educational institutions. Character-formation and training of the youth must start at home ; it should be reinforced and polished up in the educational institutions.

My young friends, your nation looks to you to build a glorious future for your country. You cannot do so unless you develop a spirit of self-confidence and pride in your cultural heritage. It is a valuable heritage on the basis of which you can build a brighter, a fuller and a richer life for your people and bequeath to posterity a culture and society of which they would be proud. You will soon be stepping out of the cloistered safety of your college into the world of strife and hard realities. Let not your spirits droop or your feet falter. If you stand by your convictions and ideals, show character, courage and moral strength and refuse to be lured by temptations of material gain at the cost of moral values, you are bound to emerge successful from the struggle ahead of you.

Your nation and you have to fulfil your destiny. This you can do only if you have faith in yourself. I pray that the courage of your convictions will help you to face enemies of the country, may they be from within or from without. Never compromise on questions of principles. Those who have attained greatness would not hesitate to sacrifice their all and draw the sword whenever a question of principle was involved. They would rather lose their lives than lose principles. No temptations that this world could offer ever interfere with their conduct. Quaid-I-Azam also followed that noble principle. You know that on the question of Pakistan he never compromised. I would, therefore, appeal to you and impress upon you that it is also your sacred duty to your God, to your country and to your Millat that you do not waver, you who are the inheritors of the greatest spiritual and worldly heritage should never compromise your principles whatever may be the temptations offered or sufferings threatened. These examples you must apply to your own personal struggles in life as well as those of your country. May God help and protect you."

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63. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR 1956

The following is the text of Madar-i-Millat Miss Fatima Jinnah's Eid message, in May, 1956.

(Editor)

"On this occasion of grateful rejoicing of Eid-ul-Fitr, the festival of good-will, which marks the completion of the period of spiritual discipline, I offer greetings and good wishes to my countrymen and to Muslims all over the world.

The happiness that comes from the knowledge of successful performance of duty is ours today and our hearts are full of gratitude to God Almighty for enabling us to pass through the regime of selfcontrol, sacrifice and discipline.

MEANING OF FASTING

It is an outstanding feature of our Faith that the institutions it prescribes have a value not only for individual but also for collective life. Fasting as one of the pillars of Islam inculcates a spirit of sacrifice and discipline which not only strengthens our individual soul and character but enables us to broaden our sympathies and mental horizon and realize the privations and hardship of our fellow-men to whom we owe a duty. For a people who undergo this unique spiritual training it should be easy to regulate their lives and tackle their problems in a spirit of self-denial, self-restraint and discipline.

But what is it that we find in our midst. Not self-restraint but self-seeking not discipline but disregard of all principles and obligations disfigures our public life. In the race for power and pelf and the welter of conflicting claims one looks in vain for disciplined conduct and regard for principles and pledges. A people whose leaders forget ethical values and put self-interest above collective good comes to grief. That is the lesson of history which we can ignore only at peril to our national existence.

I had sounded a note of warning that the utmost vigilance was needed to ensure that the liberties enshrined in the Constitution were not jeopardised. The country unfortunately is faced with a situation which constitutes a threat of democratic values and institutions. It is for the people to see that the rights and liberties they won after a hard struggle of nine years are not again submerged as a result of strifes and intrigues.

Constitutional propriety is the need of the hour. The highest interest of Pakistan, indeed its very existence as a sovereign Republic, demands that every one, from the highest to the lowest, must conduct himself in strict conformity with the letter and spirit of the Constitution. In an Islamic Republic no one is above the Constitution. It is our sacred duty to create conditions which would permit of the normal working of the Constitution and deviation from which would do grave injury both to our morale and to our international prestige. This is the time to lay down correct and healthy conventions which will serve as precedents for the future.

Political parties vying with each other for public support on the basis of their political programmes within the limits of constitutional propriety is a healthy feature of democratic life, but attempts to capture or retain political power by throwing to winds all ethical and constitutional considerations must be condemned and shunned by all patriotic people. The will of the people is the ultimate sanction and therefore it must prevail and they expect from those in whose hands the destiny of the nation lies to observe the Constitution in letter and spirit

The world is perched precariously on the brink of a volcano. If it erupts it may envelop a large part of the globe and few can predict its ultimate shape. Let us not forget that though its tremors may be felt at long distances, it might create a havoc in the regions nearby. We should set our house in order and pursue our destiny with courage, determination, burning love of freedom and lastly the inherent strength resulting from Faith, Unity and Discipline which the Quaid-i-Azam inculcated in us and which brought Pakistan on the map of the world."

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64. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1956

The following is the text of Madar-i-Millat Miss Fatima Jinnah's Eid-ul-Azha message, in July 1956.

(Editor)

"Today we celebrate Eid-ul-Azha, the festival which commemorates the supreme act of sacrifice performed by the great patriarch Hazrat Ibrahim. I offer heartfelt greetings and felicitations to my brethren in Pakistan and Muslims all over the world and wish them a happy Eid.

The significance of the great event which this festival symbolises should not be lost on us. The history of Islam is replete with instances of the spirit of sacrifice in the way of God and we in Pakistan need to imbibe and practise this spirit as much today as ever before.

Pakistan was brought into being by the sacrifices of millions of Muslims ; its consolidation and development calls for unremitting sacrifice and labour, albeit in a different form. The supreme need of the hour is the people's determination to curb and eliminate insensate self-seeking and selfish ambitions and disregard of ethical principles which has poisoned the wells of public life.

BUREAUCRATIC SPIRIT

To the misfortune of our country certain unhealthy tendencies and harmful practices crept into our public life soon after the demise of the Father of the Nation, the Quaid-i-Azam. One of the tendencies which has done great harm is the prevalence of the bureaucratic spirit which remained as a legacy of foreign rule ; it overstepped even the limits within which it worked in pre-independence days, although it should have no place in a free, independent state.

The results are before us. Even the adoption of a Republican Constitution has not cleansed the public life of the baneful effects of bureaucracy. Like a spectre it continues to haunt the minds of the people. Their liberties are still in jeopardy ; their voice remains stifled; the staggering problems under which they groan do not attract serious and sympathetic consideration ; the attitude of neglect and contempt towards the people persists. There is an unending vicious circle of machinations to retain vested interests and positions of power. Unless this basic question of assigning to the bureacracy its proper place and reorientating its outlook and methods is squarely faced there can be no hope of the country advancing along the path of democratic progress.

WARNING

I must warn the public as I have done before that an attitude of passitivity and indifference to the problems facing them will not put an end to their state of misery. Such an attitude is unbecoming of any independent people. It is strange, indeed unpardonable, that a people who made such great sacrifices for the attainment of freedom should lose heart and become apathetic when confronted with the problems of independent state. Let me tell you that the mere writing of certain rights and freedoms into a constitutional document will not enable you to enjoy the fruits of freedom. You have to be fully cognizant of your rights as well as obligations under democratic constitution and work incessantly to see that no one deprives you of the opportunity to work out your destiny and build a free, happy and prosperous life for your country.

AGRARIAN LAWS

There are innumerable problems social and economic which brook of no delay and call for clear thinking and serious effort. The people continue to suffer from the prevalence of a decadent feudal system of agriculture. The beneficiaries of this system refuse to read the writing on the wall. Nothing but a bold and drastic revision and reform of agrarian laws will deliver the country of the recurring threat of food shortages and high prices.

The peasantry who constitute the backbone of the country's economy can not indefinitely be kept in a state of misery and squalor. Profiteering, black-marketing and exploitation of labour are dangerous things. They spread misery and hardship all round, retard the economic progress of the country and ultimately recoil on those who indulge in these practices. It is in every one's interest to heed the signs of the time and bring about necessary reforms peacefully and amicably.

I again appeal to you with all the earnestness at my command—shake off all inertia and lethargy, have faith in your destiny and confidence in your ability to march to your destined goal. God does not change the condition of a people unless they are determined to change their condition is the *teaching* of our great religion. Let us take heart from it and work in a spirit of determination and self-reliance."

65. SPEECH AT BAHADUR YAR JANG GIRLS SCHOOL, 1956

Following is the text of Madar-i-Millat's speech delivered at the prize distribution function of the Bahadur Yar Jang Girls Secondary School.

(Editor)

"The great dearth of educational institutions in the country is causing heavy burden on the existing institutions. Your report shows that this school is doing its bit to meet the needs of quite a number of girls and its results are also satisfactory.

I take this opportunity to express my general appreciation at the high positions obtained by some of the girls in various examinations this year. This only indicates their capacities and their serious attitude towards their studies. It is also a blessing for Pakistan that after its establishment, the youth of the country particularly the girls have shown enthusiasm for education, which promises a bright future for the country.

Great emphasis has been laid in the report on the change of medium from Urdu to English. Let me make it clear that emphasis on English alone will not carry the students very far. What is really needed is the reorientation of the whole system of education, which may change their mentality and enable them to shoulder their responsibilities as free citizens of a sovereign State. It is necessary that we do not import habits and customs from outside but bring up the young minds according to our own genius.

The present system tends to impair the healthy spirit of human energy, soundness of judgment and to produce selfishness and a deficient sense of national service and solidarity. It also neglects physical development, building of character and the power of determination. Education of this sort should have no place in an independent country. Education should denote an attempt on the part of the adult members of the society to shape the development of the coming genarations in accordance with its own ideals of life and its culture in a manner consistent with present day changes so that they may be proud of it

With these words I congratulate the prize winners at their achievements and hope that they would further improve their academic and other records. I wish you all success."

66. INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE, 1956

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's Independence Day message to the nation in August, 1956.

(Editor)

"Today we complete nine years of our national life as an independent State, nine years of anxiety and patient expectation—nine years through which our faith in our destiny, the fortitude of our people and our determination have sustained us.

In many ways the creation of Pakistan was unique and it was achieved by democratic means towards democratic ends: the nation wrested freedom from two powerful adversaries under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. He changed the destiny and the history of the Musalmans of the sub-continent who were torn by internal dissensions, swayed by selfish and decayed leadership which was playing to the tunes of our enemies. But he came forward and shook the Muslim masses, galvanised them with new life and brought them on one platform, under one flag and gave them the goal of Pakistan—something to live for and die for.

As I look back over the last nine years, two problems intimately connected with the creation of Pakistan, emerge prominently as a challenge to be met. The Kashmir issue has been with us since the dawn of our independence, if fortune has failed to smile and the difficulties in our way continue, we are in no way deterred. It is our firm resolve that we in Pakistan will do every thing in our power to stand by our brethren in Kashmir and we are confident that the people of Kashmir will come out victorious in their heroic struggle. Today our thoughts and our hearts are with them and we salute those brave martyrs who gave their lives facing Indian bayonets and others subjected to inhuman treatment and brutalities.

REFUGEES

The second problem that still remains unsolved is of the refugees who left their homes and all and came to Pakistan. A large number of them have now for years been left to their own resources despite the funds raised and taxes collected for the avowed purpose of their rehabilitation. Is it not the proof of the bankruptcy of our administration that lakhs of these people are living in the Federal Capital in sub-human conditions? If these are

allowed to continue we shall find in our midst an unsettling element creating acute economic, political and psychological problems, which may defy solution for a long time to come.

The revelations recently made in the Press and the public about the conduct of the police in Karachi have come to me and I am quite sure, to every Pakistani as a grave shock. The people are terror-struck: the sanctity of the home, the honour of women and basic human dignities and elementary civic rights have been encroached upon in a shameless manner, Justice and fairplay must be upheld and no false prestige should come in the way of clearing the augean stables of maladministration, for if the sense of security of the ordinary man is destroyed there shall be no tranquillity, peace or safety in the country. Unless a thorough public enquiry is made into all the charges that have been made no one can feel safe or have any confidence in the administration. The Government will be failing in their duty if they adopt a hush hush policy in this regard.

SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE

These and other problems continue to stare us in the face; a number of forces are at work today which have created serious apprehensions in the public mind and which continue to threaten democratic processes and institutions. This has robbed the spirit of independence of its full expression, its force and its vigour. It is for you all to see that any encroachment upon your rights is resisted. No millennium will dawn to bring peace and happiness one fine morning; no magicians will come; it is for you to work in properly organised bodies to uphold and carry out the spirit, the ideals and the purposes of the movement of Pakistan.

In nationalising the Suez Canal, Egypt—as a dynamic nation—has taken a rightful and very bold action, which has caused a flutter in the ranks of the imperialistic forces and a wave of deep satisfaction in the minds of all those who are interested in its immediate burial. Let me make it clear that the real issue in Suez is not the guarantee of passage for any innocent purposes like trade, etc., but not to let the control over this gateway of imperialism pass into alien hands; from Egypt's point of view it is a step forward towards finalisation of its sovereignty and complete independence.

In the end I hope that the spirit that brought the dawn of independence will be revived; I have faith in our people and if we redouble our efforts and channelise them in the proper direction we shall soon be able to make a positive headway and root out the sinister forces in our way to national glory, happiness and prosperity."

61. SPEECH ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1956

The following is the text of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah's broadcast on the Quaid-i-Azam's eighth death anniversary in September, 1956.

(*Editor*)

"Today as I address you on the occasion of commemorating the eighth anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, the sense of loss and sorrow is heightened by the situation prevailing in the country.

We are as far from giving shape to the Pakistan of Quaid-i-Azam's dreams as we were before. For eight painful years the people have been helplessly watching the attempts made to sabotage their cherished ideals and aspirations and to hamper their growth and development along the path of democracy. Every time a situation developed holding the prospect of a full-blooded democratic dispensation, their hopes were unfortunately belied. Even the adoption of a Constitution did not put an end to this unhappy state of affairs.

So far as the democratic convention and processes envisaged in the Constitution are concerned, the effort has been to smother rather than foster their growth. Recent events have only served to strengthen the belief that the bureaucratic mentality still holds sway and refuses to adjust itself to the demands of a free democratic State.

After all what kind of Pakistan did the Quaid-i-Azam have in mind? What was the vision that he conjured up before his people which evoked their deepest loyalties and sacrifices? In his own words the *raison d'etre* for the establishment of Pakistan was to have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

The emphasis was on social justice. He did not look upon the State as an end; he regarded it as a means to an end. He wanted his people not to think only in terms of Government but allow their mind's eye to pierce through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State and of our nation so as to 'realise the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, constitute the basic cause of the birth of

Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State'.

Even before Pakistan came into being the Quaid-i-Azam visualised it as a people's government as early as 1943. In his Presidential address at the Delhi session, Quaid-i-Azam observed: "There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilization? Is this the aim of Pakistan? If that is the ideal of Pakistan I would not have it? One is tempted to ask whether any steps have been taken to remedy this state of affairs, Have we made any move towards the realisation of that social justice which the Quaid-i-Azam regarded as the cause of Pakistan's birth?

The first pre-requisite of the establishment of freedom is civil liberty—the freedom of conscience, of belief, of expression and of association. The Quaid-i-Azam was a great champion of civil liberties. Throughout his life he fought with his characteristic vigour and forthrightness for the civil liberties and rights of the people. He fought against the might of the alien rulers at a time when others were afraid even to talk of freedom That is why he defined Pakistan as a State in which we could live and breathe as free men.

It is nothing short of a tragedy that after his demise things should have come to such a pass that civil liberties elude the people. But let me tell you, you have to take your lesson from history. Even in many countries of the West which were never under foreign rule people had to struggle to secure and win their rights and liberties step by step. It is a trying process and it calls for all the effort you are capable of putting forth.

INHERENT STRENGTH

The only weapon you can forge to enforce your right to live in an atmosphere of real freedom is to create your own inherent strength which comes from unity of purpose and action, discipline in your ranks and above all an enlightened, organised, sensitive and vigilant public opinion.

As I said on a previous occasion, it is not enough to enshrine your rights and freedom in a constitution They can be reduced to a dead letter if you are indifferent and apathetic. Believe me, freedom is more a responsibllity than a privilege. Freedom is not something to be enjoyed at leisure; it is a challenge and an opportunity to work out your destiny unhampered by extraneous influences. Constant vigilance and ceaseless effort is the price you have to pay for freedom The greater is your unity, determination and discipline the nearer will be your goal of genuine freedom.

An unsavoury feature of the political and parliamentary life in our country, which has thwarted our progress towards true democracy and

political stability, is the audacity with which people break their pledges and desert one party for another for a personal gain. The Quaid-i-Azam took the biggest risks but never allowed any indiscipline in the ranks of his organisation.

In other countries such behaviour invites instant and severe condemnation which is enough to put an effective check to the offending person's public career. Public opinion in our country should also assert itself in similar manner. Law and Constitution cannot help you in this behalf; it is only the organised strength of public opinion that can create conditions for clean and healthy politics.

Indeed, your duty as the real repository of sovereign power does not end with the mere casting of your vote at the time of election. You have to keep a constant watch on the conduct and activities of your chosen representatives. You have a right and a duty to call him to account whenever you find that he is going astray. It is because you have been indifferent in this respect that you find some people throwing off the very ladder which enabled them to achieve their ambitions and then act as they please The remedy lies in your hands and you should use it to the best advantage and interest of the conntry.

PROVINCIALISM

I am deeply grieved to notice the growing spread of provincialism in Pakistan. It is a virus which does not help anybody except to arouse his sentiments and tarnish his fair name. Serious efforts should be made to eradicate this scourge -a deadly enemy from the body politic of Pakistan Unity which Quaid-i-Azam demanded of us to maintain is now in peril.

Pakistan came into being so that we may lead our life according to the dictates of the Islamic principles, the first essential whereof is unity. Provincialism which seeks to destroy it is, therefore, against the very principles and Islamic ideology I beseech the people of Pakistan to shed their minds of this venom. We are all Pakistanis, devoted to one ideal. Let us march together, for therein lies the strength of us all

Though our hearts are laden with sorrow and grief on this day, the Quaid-i-Azam has left us such a shining example of achievement by sheer dint of character and selfless service that it can always serve as an unfailing source of inspiration. His leadership was unique in several respects. He was not the leader who swims with the current or trims his sail to suit every wind.

UNWAVERING FAITH

He never yielded to force of circumstances or political expediency; he

overrode events and created his circumstances. He turned the course of history by founding, in the teeth of fiercest opposition, a State on ideological basis. How did he do it? There is no secret about it. His unparalleled success is attributable to his unwavering faith in his mission and in the destiny of his people, his belief in the subordination of all mundane considerations to moral ends and ethical values, his uncompromising stand on well-defined principles and ideals, his unfaltering determination to fight for noble ends with clean weapons, his uttermost regard for the people's well-being and progress and none for personal interest.

He proved by his deeds that truth and justice, if sincerely pursued, bring success and glory even in the sceptical world of today. Quaid-i-Azam's place in history and in the hearts of the people is imperishable.

He worked for noble ends and not personal aggrandisement. He won the confidence of the people through selfless service and relied on their support and not on tall slogans. Pakistan will remain a living monument to his memory. Let us on this solemn occasion re-dedicate ourselves to the sacred task of building up Pakistan on the ideals inculcated by the Quaid-i-Azam so that we march towards the path of peace, progress and prosperity.

In the words of Quaid-i-Azam: "I can assure you that there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and when you appear before your God you can say that you did your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness. This is the spirit I want you to develop and I am sure you will develop this spirit and work in accordance with it; Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

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68. SPEECH AT COLLEGE UNION FUNCTION, 1956

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered at inauguration of College Union in September, 1956.

(*Editor*)

"I am grateful to you for inviting me to the inaugural function of your College Union. It is always a pleasure for me to visit this college because with it is associated the name of the Quaid-i-Azam as one of its alumni. Because of this association you bear a special responsibility to give a lead in the right education and training of the youth who would build up a glorious future for their country.

The Union occupies a significant position in the life of the students of every University and College. It would be no exaggeration to say that the training imparted by Union Societies has enabled many a people to play leading roles in running the affairs of their countries.

The Union is not only a forum for debate and discussion where you learn the art of public speaking; it is or it should be also a centre which brings together youths with different ideas, tasks and aptitudes and enables them to rub shoulders and exchange ideas with one another, evolve healthy traditions and develop common outlook, loyalty and sympathy. It stimulates their talents and faculties and releases their energies along healthy channels. I sincerely hope that your Union is developing along these lines and you are making the best use of the opportunities offered by it.

CIVIC RIGHTS

One of the most important things to which, in my view, you can usefully apply your mind as members of this Union is the subject of civic rights, duties and responsibilities. In your life as citizens of a free democratic state the civic sphere comes before the political sphere. The civic matters come closest to your daily life. You learn the rudiments of community life in the civic field. It is not a very exciting subject but its importance cannot be over-emphasised. To cite a few questions by way of illustration—do people have the road sense. How can it be inculcated in them? How can we make proper and fair use of the civic amenities? What should be the relationship between neighbours and how they should behave towards one another? What

is the importance and value of punctuality and keeping one's appointments? What legitimate help can the educated and the comparatively well-to-do render to the less fortunately placed?

These and others may seen small questions but they constitute the nucleus on which is raised the superstructure of national life, progress and prosperity. It is for you not only to gain knowledge of the principles of civic life but also to spread this knowledge among the common people who will follow your lead. This is a work which you can undertake even as students. It may not immediately bring you into limelight but it has its own reward. You will have the satisfaction of having made a significant contribution to the improvement of life around you and you will have earned the gratitude of your fellowmen.

What distinguishes the youth from others is their unclouded mind, their high spirit and their selfless enthusiasm. This is a precious asset which you must on no account allow to be exploited by any political party to further its own ends. You should refuse to be pawns in any one's game. This is not to say that you should take no intelligent interest in the observation and study of affairs and events taking place around you. But it is one thing to study, judge and form your opinions and quite another to be thrown into the vortex of party politics, without having fully equipped yourself and without having attained power of mature judgment.

FRANCHISE

In the bracing atmosphere of your college life especially your Union and other societies, you have opportunities of learning the art of exercising franchise and of working institutions on a parliamentary model. If you carefully study the processes, traditions, and conventions inherent in the working of democratic bodies and imbibe the true democratic spirit and character you can later give a lead to your people and help build a truly democratic order in the country.

You know how the spirit of democracy is being stultified in your country by some people, who, in their inordinate lust for power and aggrandisement are always on the look out for loopholes and devices to arrest the growth of the democratic structure in the country.

An effective anti-dose to these pernicious tendencies is a vigilant and vigorous public opinion: but such an opinion can only grow out of an intensive process of education of the masses in their civic and political rights and responsibilities. You can certainly play a valuable part in the

accomplishment of this important task, provided, of course, you fully equip and qualify yourselves.

Let me now, through you, address a few words to the people generally. Your country came into being as a result of unparalleled sacrifices with a certain purpose and ideal in view. Millions of Muslims willingly made these sacrifices only to ensure that the ideals and values they held dearer than life had a chance to live and flourish. If God forbid you lose sight of these ideals, the very existence of Pakistan will be in peril. It is heartening to note that, however circumscribed and handicapped, the people's faith in their ideals still burns bright and they are ever prepared to make sacrifices given the proper leadership.

Pakistan was not created to provide a happy hunting ground for seekers of power and pelf who fatten on the sweat and toils and tears of the teeming millions. It was established to provide room for the realisation of the ideals of social justice, equality, brotherhood, common weal, orderly and harmonious progress, peace and tranquillity. As the Quaid-i-Azam pointed out, it was because these ideals were in danger of being suppressed in an alien society that the creation of Pakistan was made possible.

STORY OF PAKISTAN

The story of Pakistan is the story of these high ideals struggling against heavy odds. Believe me, this struggle is not over. You are not completely out of the woods. No doubt, you have succeeded in carving out a separate independent State and its foundations to some extent have been strengthened. But the dynamic and vitalising social order inspired by your cherished ideals is yet to be reared. There is no room for complacency. There are forces, external and internal, which are always on the look out to weaken your faith, undermine your morale and cripple your capacity for constructive endeavour and ceaseless effort. You have to guard against these forces and move forward with courage and fearlessness, sustained by the vision of the glorious Pakistan which the Quaid-i-Azam conjured before you.

Let me tell you that no one can ever do you any harm provided you remain true to your faith and ideology. If you ever come to harm it will be because of your apathy and inertia and lack of unity of purpose and action. Your goal is common. In weal and woe you have to move as an organic body irrespective of province, race or language. Whoever divides you, whoever narrows your vision and sympathies, whoever seeks the domination of one section over another is no friend of your country. You must resolutely set your face against all those who try to spread these tendencies. The

responsibility of the intelligentsia in this respect is all the greater. You have to pull the minds of the people out of the narrow grooves and channelise their ideals and energies to everwidening course leading to the betterment and progress of the country as a whole.

THE IRONY

You have the good fortune of living in the metropolis which is the nerve centre of your country. In point of population, education, civic and political consciousness, wealth and calibre of the people, Karachi leads the country. But it is an irony of the situation that the people of Karachi should be without any means of expression and self-Government.

It is not strange that while the benefits of franchise and self-government are reaching remotest corners of the country, Karachi, should continue to be under an administrative rule responsible to no elected body?

How are the people to represent their needs and feelings and to ventilate and get redressed their grievances? It is high time that some steps were taken to bring the people of Karachi on a par with the rest of the country in the matter of political rights and responsibilities.

FOOD CRISIS

Your country at the moment is faced with an acute shortage of food-grains. It is an appaling thought that a country which till only a few years ago was proudly referred to as the granary of the sub-continent should have been reduced to its present plight. It is no use apportioning blame. Let there be a concerted effort to step up production with a view to restoring self-sufficiency in food. This should be our immediate target and it can brook no delay. But I am convinced that this object cannot be attained unless the agrarian system is drastically reformed.

I have stressed it before but it will bear repetition. You have to provide some incentive to the tiller of the soil to put in his wholehearted effort to get the maximum yield out of the land. Unless this basic question is squarely faced, I am afraid all other efforts to increase production will not be of much avail.

In this connection I must again warn you against another harmful practice which is fast spreading in our society. One would have expected that, circumstanced as Pakistan is in the matter of supply of foodstuffs, every care would be taken to avoid extravagant feasting.

Does it not strike you as something criminal that while millions of your

countrymen are faced with near-starvation, people should indulge in luxurious feasting and waste the food?

The need of the hour is to tighten our belts and to adopt an austere way of life. Let a stop be put to all vain display of wealth which bears no relation to the hard realities of Pakistan's economic conditions. Let all join in a gigantic effort to build up and strengthen Pakistan's economy. Your country's greatness will be established not by the spectacle of a few rich people becoming more wealthy but by the spread of social benefits—gainful employment, food, shelter, medical aid etc.—in an everwidening circle of people. It is only the sight of a happy, contented and self-respecting people that will win the esteem of the world for Pakistan.

BHARATI MUSLIMS

At the moment our thoughts turn in deep anxiety and sympathy to the helpless Muslim minority of Bharat who are again being subjected to oppression and atrocities. The way the Muslims are being treated in Bharat only exposes the hollowness of all the tall talk of the so-called secularism of that country and I hope the world has taken a note of this. These outrages have naturally deeply wounded the hearts of the people of Pakistan who can never forget their brethren in distress.

In conclusion I would say—have faith and determination, be true to the ideology of Pakistan and its destiny, and success will be yours. I thank you again for your kindness in giving me this opportunity of meeting and addressing you and I wish you a bright future."

69. STATEMENT ON THE SEPARATE OR JOINT ELECTORATE ISSUE, 1956

The following statement was issued to press by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah in October, 1956.

(Editor)

"The National Assembly will soon be taking a vital decision on the fundamental question of Separate vs Joint Electorate which is a matter of vital importance to the future of the country and closely concerns every citizen. Since I expressed my views on this question in March last I have given a great deal of thought to it and I am convinced more than ever that separate electorate is in the interest of the country and national ideology. Joint Electorate will only lead to complications. The consequences of which will have an adverse effect on the interest of the country which we all want to see on the road to peace, progress and prosperity.

As you all know that West Pakistan has declared itself in favour of Separate Electorate whereas in East Pakistan a large section of Muslim members did not participate in the voting. If any member of West Pakistan now votes for Joint Electorate in the National Assembly he will be guilty of gross inconsistency and will stand exposed. All this will add further to bitterness and complications in the country which will hamper its progress in every direction.

Therefore, it will be in the interest of the country to maintain the *status quo* regarding the electorate. If things are rushed through and decision is forced or manoeuvred against the will of the people it will be against all democratic principles. The final decision must reflect people's verdict".

70. ADDRESS AT CENTRAL HOMEOPATHIC MEDICAL COLLEGE, 1956

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's address at the first Convocation of the Pakistan Central Homeopathic Medical College delivered in November, 1956.

(*Editor*)

"I am conscious of the honour you have done me by inviting me to deliver the first Convocation address of the Pakistan Central Homeopathic Medical College, Karachi, and for this I thank the President and Members of its Council

While inaugurating the Pakistan Homeopathic Conference in Karachi in 1949, I had emphasised that the first pre-requisite for the successful and steady development of the homeopathic system was the starting of an up-to-date and well-organized institution to impart training systematically. I had also suggested the Conferenc to take effective steps to provide a regular course for homeopathic studies. Indeed it gives me great pleasure to see that by their organized efforts the Conference has been able to present before the nation the fruit of its labours—the first batch of students, produced by the first Pakistani College of Homeopathy, and I congratulate both the college authorities and the students at this achievement

GREAT EFFORTS NEEDED

Homeopathy is yet in its infancy in Pakistan and you have to make great efforts to work on organized and systematic lines in order to make sufficient progress. You, who are the pioneers of homeopathy in Pakistan, have special duty and responsibility to perform towards the progress and development and success of this system known as homeopathy.

Homeopathy, unlike any other method of medical healing, was founded upon natural law. Homeopathy, as a system of medicine came into existence, the key stone of which is the law of similars. The greatest advantages of homeopathic treatment are its efficacy, its safety and its ease of application and small dosage which are gladly taken by little children. If the homeopathic practitioners work

with missionary zeal, they would render great service to the cause of suffering humanity and help to improve the health of the people.

For the good of science, for the cause of humanity, for the successful abolition of cult and quackary, the medical profession should be liberal enough to provide room for any special branch which has stood the test of time and earned approval by clinical demonstration. It should be regarded as one of several view-points which bring us nearer to the truth and to salvation of human suffering. I am glad to know that you have been given some background knowledge of all that is fundamental and necessary about medicine that any modern doctor must know, but on top of this, to be successful, you must have a superior knowlenge of drugs, their selection and their application.

UP-TO-DATE KNOWLEDGE

My young friends! You now leave the steps of the alma-mater to step into a new and wider world. Education as a period of deliberate direction and training is confined to your life in this institution but education properly so called ends only with life. Do not think that your period of learning is over with the attainment of your diplomas. In fact you have just entered its threshold. You must always keep yourself abreast and in touch with the latest knowledge on your subject. I hope and I pray that the time you have spent in acquiring knowledge would enable you to face the destiny that is in store for you with courage and conviction. You are lucky today that there is no obstacle barring your way to the highest ambitions which you may have nourished for yourself, but I hope these will be coupled with love, loyalty and service to your country and the Millat. Your nation and you have to fulfil your destiny. This you can do only if you have faith in yourself.

Your institution and you have the common objective of serving the people through this science of homeopathy and therefore closer co-operation of both will always be required. Your institution has been firmly established. Now the next step is to provide facilities for further research. This will help raise the prestige not only of the system itself but also of the practitioners entering into the field of medical practice. This in fact is the real foundation on which you will be able to build successfully.

I hope that you who are the pioneers of homeopathy in Pakistan will shoulder your responsibilities and lay the foundation of the great work that is ahead of you. It is only by living up to your noble profession

that you can render yeoman's service by giving relief to millions of people to whom no medical aid is available.

AMENITIES

I am glad to learn that your institution has a Library, a Laboratory and a Students' Union—all the basic essentials of any progressive scientific organization. The establishment of a charitable dispensary is yet another noble step that you have already taken, which I am sure will imbibe the spirit of fellow—feeling and selfless service in the profession.

The first pre-requisite of any institution to be able to work efficiently is to have its own accommodation, which can be expanded according to its scheme of requirements. Therefore unless you settle down on your own permanent premises, your progress will be greatly hampered. I therefore hope and wish that you have a building of your own before long, which will mark the beginning of a new era in the life of your institution. I can assure you that by steadfast devotion to your ideals, you will be able to realise your objectives sooner than you expect.

Finally I congratulate you all on receiving your diplomas and wish you all success in the task before you".

71. SPEECH AT JOSEPH COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1956

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the Joseph College, Karachi in December, 1956.

(Editor)

"You are thus the custodians of a sacred trust—the best in the cultural and spiritual heritage of your nation. That trust you can only discharge if you are properly equipped for the task of home—making according to the concepts and values which your nation holds dear.

It is in your hands to make or mar a whole generation, to water a culture so that it blossoms and fructifies or allow it to wither and disintegrate. True culture consists in spreading the benefits of knowledge and enlightenment you have received in an everwidening circle.

No one is better fitted for this task than the educated woman, because she goes in for education not so much from the utilitarian point of view as for the enlightenment and edification it affords.

Incidentally I must warn you against the tendency of snobbishness which educated people develop when they contrast themselves with their less fortunate fellow—creatures. This tendency is the very negation of education and culture. Education means nothing if it creates in you egotism and a superior attitude, because that renders you unfit to be of any service to your nation.

This brings me to the wider question of establishing a harmony between education and the national ideology and aspirations of the people to whose needs that education is supposed to cater. It is axiomatic if education is removed from the broad stream of national life it becomes putrefied and valueless.

Education like all other forms of endeavour must have its roots in and take inspiration from the life of the people. After all the aim of education is to cultivate, develop and discipline the mental, spiritual and physical faculties of the youth and to build character with a view to training them for useful citizenship and for their rightful role in the cultural advancement of their nation. For this training to be of any value it is essential that the youth's outlook should be fully in harmony with national ideology, culture and needs. Without such harmony education will continue to have an air of unreality about it.

The educated people cannot stand as a class apart and distinct from the people. They have to mingle their hopes and fears, interests and aspirations with those of the people. Thus alone will their creative impulses be evoked; thus alone will they be able to give of their best in the service of the nation.

You have referred to the futility of cramming and memorising as a method of winning a cheap degree. No academic award is worth having unless it is the fruit of earnest and serious effort. Knowledge acquired through cramming is dead knowledge. It does not matter so much what percentage of marks you secure in examination. What really matters is the disciplining of your mind and emotions, so that you develop a well-integrated personality and become a worthy citizen. Your education should awaken your higher self and then only all your accomplishments will catch the spark of vitality. It is not soulless imitation but original thinking and action that lead your life into purposeful, constructive channels.

I strongly support your plea that one should attach greater importance to 'giving' and 'receiving.' It is only those who in the first instance are prepared to give something in the way of discipline, service and sacrifice that can expect to receive something in return. If your education has not instilled this spirit in you, it is wasted.

Pakistan is passing through a very critical stage of its existence. The crying need is for young men and women who would identify themselves with the weal and woe of the country and use all their attainments and accomplishments in a mighty effort to serve the people. I hope you will use your opportunities wisely and well".

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72. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM BIRTH DAY, 1956

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's broadcast to the nation on the occasion of the birthday anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam in December, 1956.

(Editor)

"Today as the country celebrates the birthday anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, I join you all in your rejoicing and remembrance. This day reminds us of that period of national pride, unity and achievement which was crowned in the creation of Pakistan. As usual, I would like to take this opportunity of addressing the nation.

That you continue to remember him with the same fervour and love as you showed in his life—time proves that in spite of all vicissitudes your essential faith in the ideals and values he placed before you remains unshaken. Let me assure you that so long as this faith is alive, no harm will really come to you or Pakistan.

I must, however, caution you that you have still to go a long way to the realisation of a State of the Quaid-i-Azam's dreams. He visualised a State in which unadulterated democracy prevailed and the people's will reigned supreme not only in theory but also in practice; a State in which every individual would have the opportunity to attain happiness and prosperity while contributing his mite to the general well being; a State in which, to use his own words, the principles of Islamic social justice could find free play. While provision has been made for the forms of democracy, the true democratic spirit has yet to be infused in them. The years that have gone by since the dawn of Independence have been full of shocks, disillusions and disappointments.

The people have watched the manoeuvrings of individuals and groups but still await the dawn of full blooded democracy in action. Enough harm has been done by personal ambition and parochial outlook. Is it not time that those who have been responsible for the frustration of the people's hopes and longings learnt to subordinate personal gain to the collective good ?

HEART SEARCHING

What is that we find around ourselves today? Internally we seem to

lack unity of purpose and action and our sufferings do not seem to abate. Externally, we do not seem able to pull the weight that our position in the comity of nations must give us.

I want you to do a little bit of heart searching so that you know where weakness lies and how you can overcome it. Surely you are not today at such a great disadvantage as you had been when you were struggling against two mighty forces to win your freedom. You must look inward to find the cause.

Is it that you have allowed yourselves to be beguiled by people who in their hearts do not believe in the ideology of Pakistan?. Is it that you have not taken pains to throw up a bold and selfless leadership devoted to your ideals and true interests? Is it that you took freedom to mean respite and relaxation and not a challenge to your capacity for concerted and creative endeavour? Is it that you allowed your enemies disguised as your friends to create schisms in your ranks and wean you away from active pursuit of the ideals for which Pakistan came into being. These are questions which you must answer for yourself.

STABILITY

At the moment there is a good deal of talk of foreign affair and foreign policy. Ordinarily, a people's interest in world affairs is a healthy sign, for it points the way to understanding and a co-operation between nations which in the present day world is essential for the peace and well-being of humanity But I am afraid much of the talk of foreign affairs in our country has an air of unreality about it. The first pre-requisite, to use a simple phrase, is to set one's house in order. Given a reasonable measure of political and economic stability and a Government that can deliver the goods any policy regarding the foreign affairs whether others agree with it or not will command respect and cannot be ignored

However, developments will not wait to suit our convenience and we have to shape our attitude to every development as it occurs. The one great lesson that we learn from the precepts and examples of Quaid-i-Azam is the lesson that real strength and prestige flows from self-confidence, self-reliance and self-help.

The Quaid-i-Azam has taught us that those who bend under pressure and accept outside influence are oblivious of their own inherent strength, and those who compromise their principles are not true to themselves.

It is wrong to think that we are essentially weaklings and we have perforce to depend on outside aid to prop us up. Potentially and

strategically we have in us the makings of a powerful nation. If we receive something we must not forget that we have also much to give, provided we are not guided by a policy of temporary gains or mere expediency. We can be a force which both East and West will have to reckon with. What we need is a psychological change, a change of attitude. Great Nations do not develop a defeatist outlook or an attitude of dependence. Realise your potentialities; work ceaselessly to develop them; you will be more sought after than you may have to seek.

IDEOLOGICAL STATE

Remember that Pakistan is an ideological State. To fulfil this ideological purpose you have to follow a hard way of life. Pakistan, if it wishes to develop into the type of State that its Founder visualised-a citadel of peace, progress and prosperity cannot afford to be a Nation of milksops given to ways of ease and luxury. We must depend on our own hard work and practice austerity instead of living on doles.

The threat to your ideological integrity you can meet by reinforcing your faith in postulates and fundamentals of the movement that created Pakistan. Remember it is always possible to repair physical or material weakness but there can be no remedy for the weakening of faith in the national ideology. Your enlightened vigilance alone can be the guardian of this ideology which provides the dynamic force for your national existence and progress. That is why I lay stress again and again on moral and ideological rearmament because that is the only weapon you can employ to defeat the subtle designs of your enemies against your State.

KASHMIR

The foremost and the most vital problem facing Pakistan today is that of Kashmir. Bharat's forcible occupation of Kashmir is nothing but unabashed colonialism. Bharati armies with daggers drawn are sitting at the head of the people in Kashmir. International commitments and promises have been treated with contempt and scant regard. All efforts to give the right of self-determination to the people have gone in vain.

There is no instance in world history of a party to a dispute presuming to impose its own solution of the dispute and expecting the whole world to acquiesce in it. This is precisely what Bharat seeks to do.

For us in Pakistan, Kashmir is the acid test of the sincerity and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for peace and justice.

So far the United Nations has miserably failed to do its duty in this behalf. All talk of human rights, of international co-operation, and peace

becomes meaningless if the primary right of self-determination cannot be secured to all the people of the world.

If you wish to overcome your present difficulties you should develop the spirit of 'Mujahid's. As the Quaid-i-Azam said "you are a Nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live upto your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory".

It is for you so imbibe the spirit of Mujahids to work selflessly and ceaselessly for the progress and development of your country. Political consciousness is growing among the people and they are no longer content to be mere spectators. There is a growing awareness on their part of the positive role they have to play in working out the destiny of their country. This is a good sign and will help the country to the path of progress and arrest deterioration.

This again brings us to the example of the Quaid-i-Azam. Though possessed of unlimited power and glory, which he could have used as he pleased, he never swerved by a hair's breadth from the correct democratic and constitutional conduct. He had faith in the people; he respected their feelings and wishes.

In return he received a measure of support and loyalty which has invested his memory with immortal glory. Here is a great lesson for every one of us. It is by disciplining our emotions and ambitions by living up to the expectations of the people and justifying their trust and by scrupulously observing the conventions of the democratic system we have adopted that we can truly serve the country and deserve well of the nation."

73. SPEECH AT PAKISTAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 1956

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered at the annual dinner of the Pakistan Medical Association, Karachi Branch in December, 1956.

(*Editor*)

"I am glad to know that now you have got a building of your own, which will enable you to begin your work in right earnest and to go ahead with your programmes. I see from your report that you have in your scheme to start a Blood Bank, which, I believe, you have not got so far. It is a most essential and necessary thing and very often patients die for want of blood transfusion. I hope you will make tremendous efforts without losing time and establish an up-to-date Blood Bank in Karachi.

A healthy man is an asset to the nation and a sick man is a burden. Therefore, it is very necessary for people to take care of their health. Prevention is better than cure. People must learn to develop sense of hygiene, cleanliness, proper food, which all go to make a person healthy, wealthy and wise. A country where people are physically weak and imaciated cannot make much progress and headway. Under-nourishment, lack of medical aid, lack of physical culture and education, are factors mainly responsible for this state of affairs.

I am proud to say that in Pakistan we have highly qualified doctors who are second to none. All you need is to reorganize and co-ordinate the work in such a way that the maximum results are achieved in the shortest possible time. This demands from your profession selfless service, hard work and singleness of purpose. I know yours is an uphill task and you have many difficulties, but you must tackle it and find a solution. Another very important thing, which is very essential, is the establishment of pharmaceutical industries and research institutions, whereby you will supply your own needs instead of depending on others. There are many valuable drugs found in Pakistan, which could be utilized for this purpose. Some progress has no doubt been made in this direction, which is welcome but one or two pharmaceutical industries alone cannot obviously cater to the needs of this vast country, and we need many more.

It is a great honour for me to unveil the portrait of Quaid-i-Azam in the Pakistan Medical Association House. I hope you will follow his example and precepts and study his life and imbibe his true spirit. This will reveal a personality, determined to fight all odds, difficulties, trials and tribulation on the basis of axiomatic truth and universal dogmas and putting them into practice in personal, social and political life and never flinching for a moment from them."

74. SPEECH AT PAKISTAN INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION, KARACHI, 1957

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech made on the eve of the opening ceremony of the Pakistan Industrial Exhibition at Karachi in January, 1957.

(*Editor*)

"I thank the organizers of the Pakistan Industrial Exhibition for inviting me to perform its opening ceremony this afternoon, which is a matter of great pleasure for me. There can be no doubt that such exhibitions go a long way in arousing genuine interest among our people and business enterprisers to acquaint themselves with, and flourish and promote our own industry.

It is a fact that our businessmen and industrialists made great sacrifices and threw in their lot with the movement for the achievement of freedom. Since the establishment of Pakistan, they have been engaged in building up trade, commerce and industry which constitute the life-blood of a nation's existence. You have had to work under serious handicaps, but you have bravely gone forward. Let me tell you that the building up of the social and economic fabric of an independent nation is a higher struggle for which you must be ready.

DEVELOPMENT

As you all know, industrial development of Pakistan is very closely linked with the prosperity of our people, so much so, that we cannot expect to raise the standard of living of the common man without enterprising to start and develop our own national industries; under a well-planned scheme. We should aim at becoming independent in all our requirements—big and small. For achieving this object, we will have to patronise and give every encouragement to our own indigenous products.

At the same time, it should also be the first consideration of the industrialists to see that the products achieve and maintain the highest possible standards. It is for you to regulate the supply and distribution of the essential commodities in such a manner as to make it available to every needy soul.

INDUSTRIAL BIAS

One method of helping oneself and helping humanity for the people of business and profession is to open fresh avenues for employment of their surplus funds. No country can flourish with teeming millions constantly on the starvation level. The wealth of the country must be allowed to multiply. This can be effected by the successful people of professions and business by opening new industries. In the words of the Quaid-i-Azam: 'If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias. By industrialising our State we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, give more employment to our people and also increase the resources of the State.'

Our endeavours should be devoted to the development of our economic conditions. I had referred to the question of industrialising in one of my speeches as early as April. 1949. We are now in 1957 and I am glad to note that during this period the industrialists and the people have made every effort to put up both big and small industries, and contributed much towards production at home so that we may be self-sufficient in our needs, and I congratulate them.

MORE PRODUCTION

There is much more to be done yet, because there are innumerable resources still untapped which, if developed, will brighten your future.

Remember, production and more production is essential to enable us to utilize our raw materials and become self-sufficient and thus depend on ourselves. A balanced economic development and exploitation of resources is conducive to the progress, prosperity and stability of a State. Without economic independence the political soverignty of a State becomes a shadow without substance.

The commerce and the industry of Pakistan are in an initial stage. They require careful handling and devoted work. You have to approach your task in a spirit of dedication for whatever course you set and whatever traditions you lay down in the beginning will effect the whole future of the country. You are in the position of pioneers and best service you can render is to ensure reasonable price for the buyer and the highest standards of integrity, efficiency and devotion to national good,

CALL OF PATRIOTISM

I take this opportunity of appealing to the people of Pakistan to

encourage your own industry whole-heartedly by using your own indigenous goods. Your sense of patriotism and love and duty towards your country should urge you to support your indigenous industries so that the country may prosper and the nation may benefit. Here every man, woman and child has an opportunity to serve his country and thus the nation as a whole, which is the heart's desire of every body,

Pakistan, as you know, came into existence in response to the urges and aspirations of the people who wanted a State of their own in which they could live according to their faith, culture and ideology. This called for a struggle entailing untold sufferings and sacrifices which the people willingly bore. The foremost and most vital problem facing Pakistan today is that of Kashmir. Nine years have gone by and on some plea or the other the decision taken to hold a plebiscite has been postponed. Forty lakhs of people of Kashmir have been deprived of their right of self-determination and ruthlessly suppressed and crushed by the Indian bayonets. This is a challenge to the sincerity and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and justice.

I deem it a great honour to be asked to unveil portrait of the Quaid-i-Azam in your exhibition. He served his country and the nation till the last days of his life. He patronised indigenous goods and I hope you will also follow his footsteps and do likewise and thus serve your country.

With these few words I declare the exhibition open and thank you for your sincere welcome and wish your enterprise all success."

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75. SPEECH AT JINNAH COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1957

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech at the annual function of the Jinnah College, Karachi in January, 1957.

(Editor)

"I thank you for the opportunity you have given me of addressing you today. Your College is an example of voluntary effort to promote education. Quaid-i-Azam always laid stress on self-help and organized voluntary effort as the best means of tackling national problems.

All credit for the inception of this college goes to the Anjuman-i-Islamiah, which had originally planned to start this college in Agra and had also collected some funds for this purpose before Partition.

I am glad that after the dawn of independence the Anjuman being conscious of the primary need of the youth of a free country, succeeded in transferring the funds and starting this college in a building of their own. I deeply appreciate the efforts of all those connected with this noble task and assure them that they are making a very solid contribution towards building up our younger generation and I hope you will make untiring efforts to build up this college as worthy of its name.

CRITICAL TIMES

The world has reached a stage where one crisis follows another in quick succession and normally seems to be the exception rather than the rule. You are passing through critical times and you have to develop that toughness of spirit and that moral fibre which would enable you to face these abnormal vicissitudes. It is only by looking within yourself and cultivating, disciplining and harmonising your emotions and faculties that you will achieve the self-realisation and self-affirmation so essential for both individual and collective success and well-being.

You are faced not only with a material or economic crisis but what is more serious by a crisis of the spirit. If you lose faith in your ideology, your fundamental sense of ethical values and your ability to work out your destiny according to your genius and idealism, nothing can save you from decay and ruination. Need I remind you of what heights of success you

achieve when you capture your soul and reassemble your scattered forces and energies? Pakistan itself is a living example of this process. But Pakistan was never meant to be an end in itself; it is a mean to an end—the building up of a freer, fuller and larger life which evtends its benefits to all people coming within its ambit.

CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT

This is an ideal no less inspiring than the one which led to the creation of Pakistan as an independent State. If any thing, it is more exacting, for it demands of all of us a constructive spirit and patient, sustained effort. As Quaid-i-Azam said, "it is far more difficult to construct than to have a militant spirit for the attainment of freedom." In your case this constructive spirit must manifest itself in a determined effort to equip and qualify yourself and to develop a strong character and an integrated personality which will accept every challenge and refuse to yield to any demoralising forces.

Situated as you are, you cannot afford to pursue knowledge for the sake of knowledge which is an outmoded theory. Knowledge to be worthwhile should have a living link with the life around you. It can be a vitalising factor if you develop a keen perception and awareness of the problems facing the society of which you are a part. To be a student is a privilege which the society offers you. To be worthy of this privilege you must develop a keen sensitive mind and a warm sympathy which would react instinctively to every ill that afflicts the society. You cannot be indifferent to the happenings around you. Your approach to the problems however, has to be different from that of the demagogue. Your approach has to be thoughtful, critical and scientific.

Your country presently is beset by a serious situation in regard to food, the most basic necessity of life. You must put yourself the question as to why a territory which was justly regarded as the granary of the sub-continent has turned into a food deficit area. Whether the shortage and scarcity is real or manipulated, the fact is there that millions are facing great hardship and distress.

POOR COMFORT

It affords no comfort to a poor man having to feed a number of hungry members to be confronted with an impressive array of statistics and calculations showing that food prices in this country are still the lowest.

A reference to food prices is meaningless unless it is set side by side with the level of incomes and the buying capacity of the people. Again, it is

no use comparing the food prices of a preeminently agricultural country with those of the highly industrialised countries. Why should a country potentially capable of producing all its food requirements enter into a price race with other countries which do not produce enough food for their requirements? It should not be overlooked that the slightest rise in the price of the staple food of the people has an immediate repercussion on almost all articles of necessity which places an intolerable burden on them.

No one can be taken in by the pleas that the rise in the prices of food-stuffs would benefit the producer. Past experience proves the contrary. The producer never benefits: it is the landlord, the middle-man and the black-marketeer that gains. That is the curse of the present agrarian system.

By ignoring the basic problem of drastic change in the agrarian system and resorting to devious methods of balancing the budget you can never solve the problem of making available adequate supplies of foodstuffs at prices fair to the producer as well as the consumer.

Every reform, social or economic, must need touch one vested interest or the other. When the interests of millions of common men are suffering because of the vested interests of a few it is the former that must get precedence. That is the dictate of common sense, that is the teaching of our Faith.

TWO PROPOSITIONS

The problem to my mind boils down to two propositions—how to provide the proper incentive to the cultivator to put in his whole-hearted effort for maximum production; how to bring about a balance between the interests of the producer and the consumer? The second depends on the first. Your industrial progress itself can only be built up on strong agricultural foundations, and sound agricultural consolidation can only rest on an equitable agrarian system which eliminates parasitism and exploitation.

If you continue to ignore these basic considerations you will invite increasing food shortage, rising prices, growing misery and distress. You should apply your mind to a thorough and scientific study of the socio-economic problems of your country, especially the problems of agricultural economy. The main objective before every patriotic Pakistani should be how to develop the resources of the country so as to make it self-reliant and self-supporting.

At a time when such acute distress prevails the people naturally are worried if they see evidence of any extravagance or wasteful expenditure. They have a right to ask whether the large amount of expenditure incurred

on frequent peregrinations and pleasure trips out of public fund is in the national interest.

It is wrong to assume that the prestige of the country demands display of wealth or maintenance of standards and modes of living absolutely unrelated to the conditions of the common people. The respect which a country commands depends on the general standard of living, the level of education and the extent of welfare services it provides for the common man and not on the pelf and luxury of a small privileged class.

It is for you to create a climate of opinion which would ensure greater respect for the people's rights and interests and a more sympathetic understanding of their difficulties and needs.

I earnestly hope your education will lead to a broadening of your outlook and your sympathies, so that you may play a part in the wider life that awaits you which would raise your nation to a status of dignity and honour in the comity of nations.

Finally I congratulate the winners of today's prizes and wish you all success."

76. SPEECH AT MOHAJIR CLAIM HOLDERS CONFERENCE, KARACHI, 1957

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech which she delivered on the eve of the opening session of the two-day Mohajir Claim Holders Conference at the Jahangir Park, Karachi, in February, 1957.

(Editor)

"I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of expressing my views on the problem of settlement of refugee claims. This is the first Conference of the Claim Holders' Association which has an importance of its own and I am glad to see that you have met here to express your united opinion on the subject Without a just settlement of the claims of the refugees it is not possible to bring about proper rehabilitation nor is it possible for the refugees to find their proper place in the economic life of the country. The difficulties which they have had to face during ten long years are known to every one. No clear and definite line of policy seems to have been firmly adopted to settle their claims so as to enable them to build up their lives in their new habitat with some confidence and peace of mind.

What is it that we understand by evacuee property? Due to migration people left their properties behind and took shelter in their new abode. This property is known as Evacuee Property, belonging to those who have left their properties behind. Governments of both the countries took charge of this property under their control as there was nobody to take care of it. They were merely as custodians or trustees of this evacuee property and according to all canons of justice, fairplay and what is more, legally this property belongs to those who have left behind their properties.

Government being only a trustee till they verify the claims, etc. were merely holding it in trust. During the last nine years this question of evacuee property has not seen the light of the day and on some plea or the other it has been postponed. Large portion of the evacuee property and industrial concerns have been allotted to various people, which was understood to be temporary allotments, but mostly to friends and relations and for political purposes.

CONCEALED PROPERTY

Great deal of the evacuee property is concealed and not declared. People are entitled to know the exact amount of property left by Hindus here and how it has been distributed? Whatever has been done in the way of allotment hss been done behind the curtain and not on any uniform principle to avoid possibiiity of partiality, nepotism and favouritism.

In Pakistan unfortunately full and proper use was not made of the evacuee property to compensate the refugees and assist them in the task of rehabilitation. A sizeable portion of the evacuee property both agricultural and urban has been given to those who have no claims. Another unfortunate feature was the continuance for many years of the invidious distinction between the "agreed" and "non—agreed" areas. Whatever justification there might have been for this distinction in the beginning it ceased to exist after India declared all the property left as evacuee property.

As things stand thousands of houses and shops, hundreds of industrial concerns and millions of acres of agricultural land are in the possession of people who have no title to them by any canons of justice. Another unfortunate result of the inordinate delay in the settlement of refugee claims is that large blocks of evacuee property, houses, shops, factories and lands have deteriorated in value through misuse or disuse or want of careful maintenance and repair. The unlawful owners naturally could not be expected to carefully look after the property; the authorities too did not pay much attention; and the refugee allottees could not take the interest they could otherwise be expected to take because of uncertainty and vagary of Government policy. This is a very unhappy aspect of the situation so far as the value of the property available for the satisfaction of claims is concerned.

The settlement of refugee claims is a national question as it concerns refugees drawn from all parts of India and spread all over Pakistan. It should therefore be tackled on an All—Pakistan level by the Central Government. The first pre-requisite is for Government to lay down clear, uniform and equitable principles evolved on rational basis which would govern the scrutiny and evaluation of claims. It is important that representatives of claimants should be consulted in this behalf and their views given due weight.

The second thing is the assessment of the value of the total amount of evacuee property. There is no room for further delay. Speed is the essence of the problem. The verification of claims and the evaluation of

property should be carried out simultaneously and completed once for all. The disposal of evacuee property should be preceded by the handing over of verified claims to the claimants and evaluation of all assets. It is also essential in the interest of justice to restrict the sale of evacuee property to *bona fide* holders of verified claims. This being the final phase of settlement of claims and disposal of property, the Central Government should adopt a clear, definite, just and firm policy which should be carried out under its direct control with the utmost expedition and efficiency. Any other course would lead to failure and the rightful claimants will be justified in taking constitutional steps to safeguard their interests."

77. SPEECH AT PESHAWAR UNIVERSITY, 1957

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech on the occasion of the inaugural ceremony of the Students Union of the Peshawar University in May, 1957.

(Editor)

"College life provides a very happy and fortunate period in the life of an individual. It is the time when mental faculties reach a degree of maturity, adequate enough to undertake responsibilities. Assimilation of knowledge along with the utilization of faculties for shouldering responsibilities is, therefore, a necessity at this particular period in life.

While he has to attain a fair amount of intellectual capacity, he must also be given an opportunity to prepare himself for shouldering other responsibilities of life. The Union of students in this scheme of things is, therefore, a very important means of inculcating in them a sense of responsibility besides affording them the experience to run institutions.

Every youth of today is a potential leader, parliamentarian, legislator and ambassador of tomorrow. In those capacities it would be necessary for him to work in public institutions and social organisations. The achievement of Pakistan was a struggle of persistence and perseverence, which ultimately led us to success under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

This should be an inspiring lesson to the nation as a whole, which shows how persistent efforts, firm determination, courage and unflinching faith in your cause can overcome adversities, however great they may be for a nation. You must so train yourselves as not to run away from the difficulties of life but to face them with courage.

GENERAL ELECTIONS

Freedom casts responsibilies on you from which you cannot get away. Sooner or later you will have general elections. That will be an occasion which will provide you with the opportunity of using your democratic rights. It will also be a test of your political consciousness.

To ensure the successful working of your democratic institutions, you have to use your franchise in such a way that your elected representatives

truly represent your opinions and interests and properly perform their duties in the legislatures. The constituency of an elected representative must keep a constant watch on him and hold him to account for the discharge of his public duties.

CHOICE OF GOVERNMENT

It is not the function of a legislator alone but of all thinking people to consider all issues and problems of national life and to form and express their opinions freely and fearlessly. Having made up your mind you have to take a stand and make your choice as to the Government that must serve you and the policies and programmes that must follow.

PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

With the attainment of freedom, the whole concept and purpose of education must undergo a radical change. In the first instance your education must be closely related to national ideology, culture and aspirations. It must equip and prepare you to perform with energy and efficiency every task in the service of the nation and the State. It must bring about a psychological change, and a change of outlook.

In whatever capacity you may be called upon to work whether as a minister or an administrator, an executive, a soldier or a technician, you have to conduct yourself as one who wishes to serve his people from an inner urge and not to rule or dominate over them.

With the end of political servitude the servile attitude of mind also must go. It is as much a sign of mental servility to accept and imitate every thing that bears the stamp of the West and of modernity, as to stick to everything coming from the past and sanctified by tradition. Ideals, values and modes have to be tested and assessed in the light of your knowledge and fundamentals of your faith.

I am glad to know that the fire lit by the Quaid-i-Azam still burns in your young heart, and, if an emergency arises in which the integrity and sovereignty of our country is threatened, the student community will be prepared to play a vital and decisive role.

Pakistan was not created to provide a hunting ground for seekers of power and pelf who fatten on the sweat and toil and tears of the teeming millions. It was established to provide room for the realisation of the ideals of social justice, equality, brotherhood, common weal, orderly and harmoneous progress, peace and tranquillity.

The story of Pakistan is the story of these high ideals; struggle is not yet over. You are not completely out of the woods. No doubt, you

have succeeded in carving out a separate independent State, and its foundations to some extent have been strengthened. But the dynamic and vitalising social order inspired by your cherished ideals is yet to be reared. There is no room for complaisance.

There are forces, external and internal, which are always on the look out to weaken your faith, undermine your moral and cripple capacity for constructive endeavour and ceaseless effort. You have to guard against these forces and move forward with courage and fearlessness, sustained by the vision of the glorious Pakistan which the Quaid-i-Azam conjured before you. Let me tell you that no one can ever do you any harm provided you remain true to your faith and ideology.

Under the will of the Quaid-i-Azam Islamia College Peshawar, is one of the residuary legatees entitled to one third of the residuary estate. In my capacity as the sole surviving executive, I have decided to effect interim distribution of the residuary estate. Accordingly, I announce to hand over Rs. 3,50,000/- (Rupees three lacs and fifty thousand) to the Islamia College, for which it was specifically given."

78. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1957

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's message issued on Eid-ul-Fitr in May, 1957.

(Editor)

"On the auspicious occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, I offer hearty greetings to the nation and indeed to the Muslims all over the world. May the blessed day prove to be the harbinger of happiness and prosperity to them and peace and harmony for the whole of mankind.

The festival of Eid-ul-Fitr makes the culmination of a regime of rigorous spiritual discipline which has its value not only in term of individual purification but also collective welfare and social evolution. It is thus a fitting occasion for us to subject ourselves to an honest and searching self-examination to see how far we have given our efforts to achieve and establish the society of our dreams.

ANALYSIS OF SITUATION

Last few months much water has flown down the river; instead of going forward, we have in many respects gone back. It certainly does not redound to the credit of the country and its leaders that, though nearly ten years have elapsed. it has not had general elections for its Parliament

Popular elections at stated intervals are the only means by which the people, the real repository of sovereign power, can exercise their sovereign rights, pronounce their verdict on the issues facing the country, and return a Government of their choice and confidence.

Their patience in this respect has been sorely tried and it would not be in anyone's interest to delay them the opportunity of exercising their democratic rights any further.

The problems confronting the country can be effectively tackled and solved only by enlisting the people's co-operation. You can stimulate enthusiasm and evoke co-operation of the people by making them feel that they have a voice—a decisive voice in determining the complexion and structure of their Government and that the administration is sensitive and responsive to their needs and wishes.

A free and democratic State has to be a welfare State, and at every step it needs the people's co-operation, which is only possible if it is run with their will and sanction. Gone are the days when the country could be ruled by bureaucratic methods.

CLARION CALL

As true citizens and builders of the nation you must exercise your rights and thus do your duty by your country and the nation. Freedom connotes both rights and obligations. It is ceaseless endeavour to work out one's destiny in accordance with rules and principles one has voluntarily chosen. The fruits of freedom have to be won by hard work and constant struggle; they do not fall in one's lap.

Life is constant change, adaptation and movement. The ideology, which brought Pakistan into being, is based on the concepts of unity, liberty and social justice. You have to shake off your centuries old inertia and apathy. You must realise your own potentialities and the heights to which you can rise by fearless endeavour for the right cause.

To realise your destiny you need three things—faith, courage and self-confidence. If you make up your mind, you can develop these qualities, and then, even as you won Pakistan in the teeth of the bitterest opposition, you can also revolutionise the entire face of the country".

79. SPEECH AT FRONTIER COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, PESHAWAR 1957

Following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's address to the staff and students of the Frontier College for Woman, Peshawar in May, 1957.

(*Editor*)

"Women are the custodians of a sacred trust—the best in the cultural and spiritual heritage of the nation. That trust you could only discharge if you were properly equipped for the task of homemaking according to the concepts and values which your nation holds dear.

No one is better fitted for this task than the educated woman, because she goes in for education not so much from the utilitarian point of view as for the enlightenment and edification it affords. Man, according to the Holy Quran was the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril, but this stature could only be fully developed if one plunged himself into a vigorous life with all its difficulties and compensations.

This however, was not an easy thing to do. It required considerable courag , character and self-possession—qualities which developed in man the essential human resistance against temptation qualities which were accumulatively known in Islam as the self.

It was this self that helped one to inculcate in oneself that necessary discipline, which assisted one to rise above fear and above flattery. It gave one the strength to fight the little battles of life. It imparted perseverance, determination and boldness. It gave one the depth of character, and, hence, that delightful politeness and humility which prepared one as an integral and useful part of society.

Home was the pivot of all happiness and welfare. A well-managed and harmonious home was the foundation on which was reared the whole edifice of national progress and prosperity.

The woman's role and responsibility in the making of the home needed no emphasis. Whatever else you might be, and whatever you might do in your extra time, your primary and essential task was to build your home as a heaven of rest and happiness.

Your home reflects your cherished sense of values, your cultural aspirations, your mode of living, and your emotional and spiritual longings. You are thus the custodians of a sacred trust—the best in the cultural and spiritual heritage of your nation. That trust you can only discharge if you are properly equipped for the task of home-making according to the concepts and values which your nation holds dear.

It is in your hands to make or mar a whole generation, to water a culture so that it blossoms or allow it to wither and disintegrate. True culture consists in spreading the benefits of knowledge and enlightenment you have received in an ever-widening circle.

NATIONAL IDEOLOGY

This brings me to the wider question of establishing a harmony between education and the national ideology and aspirations of the people to whose needs that education is supposed to cater. It is axiomatic that if education is removed from the broad stream of national life it becomes putrified and valueless.

Education like all other forms of endeavour must have its roots in and take inspiration from the life of the people. After all, the aim of education is to cultivate and develop the mental, spiritual and physical faculties of the youth and to build character with a view to training them for useful citizenship and for their rightful role in the cultural advancement of the nation. For this training to be of any value it is essential that youth's outlook should be fully in harmony with the national ideology, culture and needs.

You have to mingle your hopes and fears, interests and aspirations with those of the people. Thus alone will your creative impulses be evoked, thus alone will they be best in the service of the nation.

Your education should awaken your higher self and then only all your accomplishments will catch the spark of vitality. It is not soulless imitation but original thinking and action that leads your life into purposeful, constructive channels. Just as you played your part in the achievement of Pakistan, so I hope you will contribute your full share towards building up the nation".

80. SPEECH AT SWAT COLLEGE, 1957

While replying to an address of welcome presented to her by the President of the Swat Union at a reception at the Jahanzeb College, Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech in June, 1957.

(*Editor*)

"Our youth have inherited a spirit, a tradition and a responsibility pertaining to Pakistan and its future which must be carefully diverted into constructive channels. They have to be conscious of the additional obligations that devolve on them to see that Pakistan moves steadily towards the fulfilment of the mission and the ideal for which it stands.

Your constructive spirit must manifest itself in a determined effort to equip and qualify yourself and to develop a strong character and an integrated personality, which will accept every challenge and not yield to any demoralising forces.

You cannot afford to pursue knowledge for the sake of knowledge, which is an outmoded theory. Knowledge, to be worthwhile, should have a living link with the life around you. It can be a vitalising factor if you develop a keen perception and awareness of the problems facing the society, of which you are a part. To be a student is a privilege which the society offers you. To be worthy of this privilege you must develop a keen sensitive mind and a warm sympathy, which would react instinctively to every ill that afflicts the society. You cannot be indifferent to the happenings around you.

Your approach to the problems, however, has to be different from that of a demagogue. Your approach has to be thoughtful and scientific.

The trials and tribulations of early life prepare you for a brighter and better future, which no one will deny you if you refuse to swerve from the path of righteousness and honesty, whatever the temptations. I hope and sincerely pray that the time you are spending in acquiring knowledge would enable you to face the destiny that is in store for you with courage and conviction. You are lucky today that there is no obstacle barring your way to the highest ambitions which you may be nourishing for yourself. But I hope these will be coupled with love, loyalty and service to your country and millat."

81. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1957

The following is the text of the message issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha in July, 1957.

(Editor)

"To the Muslims of Pakistan and to our brethren in faith all over the world I offer hearty greetings and felicitations on this auspicious occasion.

The day of Eid-ul-Azha marks the culmination of the highest sacrifice known to mankind and is therefore a day of re-dedication, self-effacement and highest sacrifice. The history of Islam is replete with instances of spirit of sacrifice in the righteous cause. Pakistan itself is the outcome of untold sacrifices made by the Muslims of the subcontinent in their quest of a "State" wherein they would have the liberty and opportunity to work out their destiny according to their faith and ideology. The aspirations which stirred the Muslims to struggle for the creation of Pakistan were entirely democratic in character. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man, as the Quaid-i-Azam put it are the basic points of our faith and culture and it is because there was a danger of denial of these human ideals in an alien society that we fought for Pakistan.

The movement for Pakistan had democratic objectives and it was conducted and brought to fulfilment through democratic means and methods. When Pakistan was at last established they naturally looked forward to the evolution of a full fledged democratic order.

But an evil destiny seemed to haunt their steps towards democracy and after the demise of the Quaid-i-Azam the anti-democratic and bureaucratic forces got the upper hand. The people's progress towards the democratic goal was thwarted and their cherished ambitions seemed for a time to be suppressed. For some years past we have witnessed a constant struggle between the legitimate democratic urges of the people and the contrary effort to keep them subdued under authoritarianism.

After a bitter struggle the inauguration of the Republican Constitution saw the dawn of day. From that day onward sovereignty rests with the people in law and in fact. All allegience is to Pakistan. Henceforward the administration, the services and all our institutions must look to the people and the people alone. The organised will of the people is supreme. Unfortunately the constitution is not being adhered to and the vicissitudes

through which the country has since passed have not brought the people's hopes any nearer. The conflict between the spirit of the democracy and bureaucratic forces still persists. The people with whom the sovereignty rests must realise their responsibilities and in order to reach their goal make every effort to eliminate bureaucratic forces from the body politics.

The people of Karachi have recently passed through a period of suffering due to the epidemic of influenza. They faced the epidemic manfully without giving way to panic and scare and there was evidence of fellow-feeling and selfless service of suffering humanity. I hope and pray that this wave will pass off quickly.

On my recent visit to the up country wherever I went I was happy to see the political consciousness amongst the people and the evidence of the strong spirit of patriotism and sacrifice which inspires the people. Spirit and ideology of Pakistan movement is still as strong as it was under the leadership of Quaid i-Azam

You are politically conscious people, morally strong, you are full of courage. Government is from you, you are not from the Government. Quaid-i-Azam created this homeland for you. You have to save your country, your Constitution and your rights. May God help you."

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82. MESSAGE ON PAKISTAN DAY, 1957

The following is the text of the statement issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Pakistan Day in August, 1957.

(Editor)

"Today is the tenth anniversary of the birth of Pakistan. This day ten years ago, our flag was, for the first time, unfurled by the Quaid-i-Azam, heralding the advent of our freedom and independence in the shape of a sovereign State when millions rejoiced in their victory and their emancipation from foreign rule.

Though a decade is not a long time in the life of a nation, yet for us it has been a very eventful and important period. We have encountered heavy odds and obstacles, both internally and externally, we have been through various vicissitudes; we have passed through anxious moments but we have never lost faith in our destiny and never given way to despondency.

NOT A HUNTING GROUND

As we take stock of our achievements during the last ten years, the first question that strikes us is how far we have succeeded in realising our national aspirations which bestirred us to work for Pakistan.

Let me remind you that mere establishment of Pakistan was not the end of our movement, it was a means to a much higher and nobler end, namely, a life of peace, plenty, freedom and happiness for every citizen of the country. The object of our freedom movement in reality was to secure an environment and opportunity for building up a freer fuller and longer life extending its benefits and joys to all the people coming within its ambit.

We can never afford to lose sight of this fundamental objective of our movement which alone gives meaning and substance to our freedom and national existence.

Pakistan was not created to provide a hunting ground for a few seekers of power and pelf who fatten on the sweat, toil and tears of the teeming millions who have undergone untold sufferings that Pakistan may live. It was created for the purpose of realisation of the ideals of social justice, equality, brotherhood, common weal, orderly and harmonious progress, peace and tranquillity. Are we any nearer these objectives? Far from it.

Who is behind all this sorry state of affairs? You have to find out the **hidden hand.**

SORDID BARGAINING

The wells of the public life of the country have been poisoned by the ugly tendencies of behind—the—scene intrigues and sordid bargaining to perpetuate personal interest. There has been a persistent effort to deny the people opportunities for the exercise of their democratic rights, although they are the creators of Pakistan and the real repository of sovereign power.

You have a Constitution now which enshrines your rights and liberties and provides a mechanism for the establishment of democratic institutions, yet efforts continue to smother the free play to your democratic urges and aspirations. You can never relax vigilance. The time has come when the people should no longer tolerate anti-democratic tendencies. The demand of the people for early elections is the only solution.

All those who struggled to bring Pakistan into existence should realise that they have a bigger part to play and have a duty to see to it that it is put on the right path, so that it reaches its destined goal as a democratic State wherein everyone enjoys freedom of faith, speech and association and freedom from want and fear.

Coercion, repression and intimidation can have no place in this State. Gone are the days when such methods could be practised.

CHOSEN PATH

Democracy is the chosen path of Pakistan. It is in the blood of the people because the Pakistan movement had democratic objectives and was brought to a successful issue through purely democratic methods under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. Every Pakistani owes it to himself and his country to see to it that the Constitution is followed in letter and spirit, so that a fully democratic order is evolved and all tendencies inimical to democracy are eliminated.

I earnestly appeal to the people of Pakistan bravely to stand up against all those forces which are creating chaos and confusion in the country. Let us go back to the days of 1947 when the Flag of Pakistan was unfurled. Revive the same spirit and faith in your self and march towards Pakistan's destiny as a democracy and thus fulfil the mission."

83. SPEECH ON THE DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID I-AZAM, 1957

The following is the full text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech broadcast from Radio Pakistan on the occasion of the death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam in September, 1957.

(*Editor*)

"Today, eleventh of September on the ninth anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam once again I am addressing the nation and share my feelings with you.

Today the whole nation will be commemorating his memory and, I hope, will take stock as to how far they have been able to translate into practice the ideals and values he inculcated. Throughout his long public career the Quaid-i-Azam distinguished himself by sacrificing all personal ambitions and interests to the national cause, subordinating all mundane considerations to ethical principles and moral ends, taking his stand on well-defined principles and ideals as against considerations of expediency, giving, in short, a moral tone and basis to all his activities.

At moments the mind sees his warning finger. Although he is no more with us his great personality inspires us. What a vacuum yawns between life and death, what difference between man and man!

How sad is it to find that the principles and values he held dear and practised all his life should be at a discount in the country he founded! The springs of our public life have been polluted by power politics and personal aggrandizement at the expense of the people whose sacrifices brought Pakistan into being, disregard of democratic values and ideals which inspired the Pakistan movement, and the ascendancy of anti-democratic and bureaucratic forces.

Even though there is a Constitution which contemplates a democratic order, yet the freedom to make their will and aspirations prevail still somehow eludes the people. Efforts have not ceased to find loopholes to circumvent the requirements of the Constitution and stifle the growth of the democratic structure.

GUARANTEE OF PROGRESS

In a free democratic State it is the people's faith and enthusiasm that is

the real guarantee of its stability and progress. That faith and enthusiasm can only be sustained if they have the opportunity not in theory alone but also in practice, to determine the conditions according to which they would like to see the affairs of the country administered. The denial of this opportunity can only have the effect of sapping a people's spirit and vitality, than which nothing could be more disastrous to a country. It gives rise to pernicious tendencies and practices, a vicious circle of intrigues and counter-intrigues, underhand tactics and faithlessness, race for autocratic power, and ultimately betrayal of national interests.

There is yet time to call a halt to these deplorable tendencies. It is for the people to create an intensive climate of opinion which will compel respect for the democratic processes enjoined by the Constitution.

A fatal weakness of many of our public men and parties is that, once in power, they succumb to the temptation of disregarding well-recognised principles, conventions, and standards and even tampering with constitutional provisions in order to maintain temporary gains. History furnishes innumerable examples that a people or a party who betrayed their principles and pledges for warding off some trouble have always failed. Be assured that you can never achieve anything worthwhile or win respect and prestige for yourself or your nation and the country unless you stand by your principles, pledges and policies, irrespective of political exigencies even if it involves some sacrifices on your part.

ELECTIONS

What is the remedy for all this? General elections is the only answer. The controversy about the timing of the elections is still raging. Uncertainty still befogs the atmosphere. Doubts and misgivings arise in the public mind that there are still forces behind the scenes whom it does not suit to have elections at an early date. The question is whether the inalienable right of the people to exercise their sovereignty through their chosen representatives clearly recognised by the Constitution, is going to wait on the pleasure and convenience of some individuals? The country has waited for nine years to have its general elections.

Even the absense of a Constitution cannot be pleaded now as an excuse. What the people demand is an unequivocal announcement of a date for the holding of elections. If this is not done it will only deepen the people's suspicions and cause greater frustration.

I want the people to prepare themselves for the elections. Remember, you will be approached by a host of supplicants for your confidence and

support. Then will be the time for you to exercise your intelligence and judgment.

I should like to invite your attention to certain general principles which should guide you in exercising your franchise. First and foremost, you have to consider whether the candidate soliciting your vote is a man of character. He should be one who would put collective good above personal gain, one who would not be tempted by any offers of office or other material gain to break his pledges to his constituents or to the party on whose ticket he is elected, one who would not kick the very ladder by means of which he acquired position or power.

Then he should be a person who has the capacity effectively to represent your views, wishes and needs and to judge and pronounce intelligently opinion on the issues coming up before the legislature. He should not use his membership of the legislature merely as a stepping-stone to personal advancement but as a medium of service to the people, the reward of which is bound to come to him in the shape of increasing public confidence and support.

CHARACTER

The successful working of the democratic machinery also depends on your conduct as electors. You too have to show a high standard of character in exercising your franchise. You have to resist not only intimidation and undue pressure but also all kinds of temptations and inducements to purchase your vote. It is not a commodity to be offered to the highest bidder. You must realise that proper exercise of your vote is the only way to preserve your cherished freedom and make your will prevail. If you misuse your vote you would be to blame for the ills befalling the country.

Your duty does not end with the casting of vote. You have to keep a constant watch on the activities of your representative and call him to account. If he goes back on his pledges and forfeits your confidence in the discharge of his public duties you should be able, by the weight of your collective opinion. to compel him to vacate his seat.

I now come to the economic situation which is causing the greatest hardship to the common people. The inflationary conditions prevailing at present have pushed up the prices of consumer goods and articles of necessity to a level which has made it impossible for the common man to make the two ends meet. For 10 years he has willingly borne all the sacrifices and hardships demanded of him.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

Surely the object of Pakistan, as is sometimes asserted by our public men

but seldom followed in practice, is not to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Your country's greatness will be judged not by the spectacle of a few rich people but by the spread of social benefits—gainful employment, food, clothing, shelter, medical and educational facilities—in an everwidening circle of people. A country can have real political freedom only if it has economic independence.

I have said it before and I must emphatically repeat that Pakistan was meant to be and will be a fully democratic State. Whether you look at it from the standpoint of the Islamic ideology or the modern democratic practices, democracy can only be sustained if there is rule of law—law before which the Khalifa, the king and the mightiest of the mighty had to bow and which must be respected by all irrespective of their position in the country. That is the quintessence, the very soul of democracy.

If respect for law goes, there will be anarchy and chaos. These then are the limits of the socio-political framework and these must be accepted and honoured at all costs. If we do not treat democracy and the rule of law as sacred and supreme it will amount to a breach of faith with the people who reposed their trust in the leadership in the name of democracy. It is no service to Pakistan to seek to choke the channels for the expression of the people's opinion and feelings.

During the past few months the country has been rocked with tremendous political shocks. Methods have been used which were far from dignified in character but I am glad the people registered in no uncertain manner their disapproval of these methods These events, however, have brought out the painful reality that democratic institutions are still not allowed to function in a normal way. Thus in this land of hope and promise a combination of circumstances has given us shock after shock, brought about a state of uncertainty and shaken our national pride.

We have seen attempts made to undermine democratic institutions and healthy conventions which are the very life-blood of any living and vigorous society. There has been a systematic emasculation of representative political parties which are the only means of giving expression to our collective will. Instead pocket organisations have been engineered and encouraged. This, I must warn you all, is fraught with danger aud canker must not be allowed to spread Choose your political party after due deliberation and work actively and vigilantly as a conscientious member or else democracy in Pakistan will receive a blow from which it will be hard to rocover.

I take this opportnnity to draw your serious attention to these vital

matters in our national life at this critical hour, and to the need of correct attitude courage, unity, faith and discipline to see things on an even keel.

TERRIBLE FLOODS

Before I conclude I would like to say a word about the terrible floods which have afflicted the people in the Northern parts of West Pakistan. They have caused tremendous damage and loss tearing asunder thousands of people from their hearths and homes. My deepest sympathies go to the flood stricken people and I hope that prompt measures wouid be taken to afford them relief.

I have always believed and do firmly hold that we have a great future as a nation. So let us do the task; civilian and soldier, peasant and worker, student and teacher, businessman and industrialist, doctor and judge—every one to his post. It is not for any one of these elements to leave to the other the task of arresting the deterioration of national life. Every one must play his part. Let each one of you do his duty boldly, honestly and truthfully and we shall have soon realised the great ideals which the Quaid-i-Azam inculcated and which still inspire us. As he desired let Pakistan be a country of the strong and the self-reliant and not of the weak. Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

84. SPEECH AT KARACHI COLLEGE, 1957

The following is the full text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech which was delivered in a function at Karachi College, in October, 1957.

(Editor)

"It is always a source of pleasure for me to be able to visit this college and address its students. As the oldest College of Karachi you owe a duty to give a lead for traditions and sound thinking on national problems. You have the good fortune of being students in the setting of a free and independent country. As such you have the opportunity of participating in the joyful and thrilling adventure of studying the problems of a free society which is on the threshold of a great development and expansion and contributing your share in a practical manner to the tackling and solving of these problems. You have to equip and qualify yourself by serious study and hard work.

Ours is a country of millions not of millionaires. The system of education which produced lettered individuals and unlettered millions must give a place to a new dynamic, easy and cheeper system which rests on ideals and ideology. It must be able to equip the people with burning zeal for selfless and devoted service in the cause of Pakistan. They must be trained and inculcated with the quality of leadership in all spheres of public and private life whether civil or military, technical or academical, high or law. It should be no longer the duty to play second fiddle to unsympathetic, apathetic, or exploiting persons. Time that is passed has already inflicted a severe loss and we must wake up before the damage done becomes irreparable.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

Effective education would deal directly with current problems. Therefore, may I take you away from your pleasant surrounding and draw your attention to some of the problems that are facing the country in the shape of poverty, ill health, illiteracy and unemployment. I would like to marshal your help in facing these problems. Without sacrifice we can achieve nothing and I pray and hope that the students during their stay in this institution have developed those characteristics which are essential for the betterment of the individual as well as the Millat.

The first essential is loyalty to our counry which is young in age but rich with traditions. This loyalty cannot come by acts of law and legislature or ordinances, but let it come from within as an effusion of love for something we hold dear and in trust for posterity. We want to see Pakistanis treat one another as equals that is as persons who have equal rights to life, liberty and

the pursuits of happiness. There need be nothing contradictory in the attitude of man to his duty to himself or to his community or the wider society of the world.

In the environment of a free country there is no room for sloth, lethargy or indifference on the part of the people particularly the young intelligentsia. You cannot take shelter behind the plea, as you did in pre-independence days, that you have no freedom and no opportunity to get things right and you can do nothing. You strove and struggled, under the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership, to achieve a democratic State in which the will of the people would reign supreme. Although this ideal and objective was never in doubt so far as the people are concerned, a varying chain of factors and forces intervened to retard and clog the process of natural evolution of a democratic order. It certainly speaks for the innate vitality and essential soundness of heart of our people that the efforts to keep the country down in a constitutional abyss were defeated.

For a free and independent people there can be no resting on laurels. You have to be constantly on your guard. The real shield for your cherished freedom and your prized values is your own vigilance and circumspection. You must create a sound organised and sensitive public opinion which would not be bamboozled by subtle attempts to mislead you or wean you away from the sheetanchor of your ideology. You must develop the capacity to distinguish the grain from the chaff. It is for you to ensure that those who claim to represent you do not treat their representative capacity as a business commodity for sale.

Above all, it is the duty of the intelligentsia to set an example of clear thinking. You must learn to view all problems, and issues in their proper perspective. Do not allow confusion to prevail. There is a time for every issue to be judged and tackled. Beware of the attempts which are made to keep your mind in a constant state of flux and uncertainty with the result that no problem is solved and frustration overtakes you. Ten years have elapsed since the attainment of your freedom. It is time that you develop some maturity in your political thinking and political attitude.

Your destiny is in your hands provided you know how to use the rights and opportunities that are yours. Too long has your destiny been the plaything of behind-the-scene manoeuvrings. You must insist on everything being decided above board and in the full view of the people. The corruption of the public life can only be cleansed by submitting all issues and claims, whether of individuals or parties, to the arbitrament of public opinion. Whoever hesitates to submit to this arbitrament or seeks to evade it is

no friend of the country and does not deserve your confidence and support.

You will soon be on the threshold of a new but real life. The delightful and carefree youthful days will be no more. You will soon come in contact with hard realities of life different from the cosy edifice of rose and honey that you may have built for yourself. You should from now onward prepare yourself to shoulder the responsibility that will fall on you. The trials and tribulations of early life prepare you for a brighter and better future which no one can deny if you refuse to swerve from the path of righteousness and honesty whatever the temptations.

NO ROYAL ROAD

There is no royal road to success and glory but that of devotion to duty and to the high principles of moral values set out by Islam. Faith in your own ability and in your ideal, courage of your convictions and above all righteousness of your cause will ultimately triumph. No matter what your difficulties fight through life and life's difficulties at every stage without losing heart and God will help you to success. The whole world is watching you and you must play your part and carry out your responsibilities and duties entrusted to you so that in every branch you may come out as an emblem of the great and able Pakistani youth.

Quaid-i-Azam in one of his last messages had said that Pakistan has everything, it is for you to build and build as quickly as you can. He had all the people of Pakistan no less than youth in his mind when he made that statement. Qauid-i-Azam has left behind a young country and a dynamic youth to look after each other and fulfil his dream of mighty and powerful Pakistan worthy of our traditions and future.

Before I conclude I should like to impress on you the necessity of correlating your studies to the social and economic problems of your country. The knowledge you acquire should no longer remain a theoretical accomplishment to be enjoyed at leisure. You are members of a free nation which has to lend all its energies to the solution of its own problems. Who else will give the lead in this respect if not the young students. As science students especially it should be your privilege to apply your knowledge to the fullest explanation of those wonderful resources with which nature has so plentifully endowed your country. Acquire knowledge and use it in a spirit of dedication to the highest interests of your nation. I wish you all success in your endeavours".

85. SPEECH AT ISLAMIA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, LAHORE, 1957

Addressing the students of Islamia College for Women, Lahore, Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech in November, 1957.

(Editor)

"You have the good fortune of being students in a free society, free from the cramping influence of foriegn rule. Although the system of education under which you study, has not been overhauled to suit the needs and demands of an independent country, yet you have at least the privilege to breathe in an atmosphere of freedom and feel that the problems confronting you are your own problems which it is your privilege and responsibility to think over and tackle according to your own lights.

This is an opportunity which does not come to every generation and you are fortunate to be the members of a rising generation who have in their power to lay sound foundations for the cultural and social progress and future happiness of posterity. I hope you have a full sense of appreciation of the opportunities and reponsibilities that are yours.

After all what is said and done, the profound truth remains that the nucleus of all progress, prosperity and strength is the home ; and whatever else she may do, home-making is the prime and most creditable function of the woman. The disequilibrium and resulting misery and unhappiness you witness today is due mostly to the disregard of this axiomatic truth.

You cannot build the edifice of national progress and prosperity, except on the sure foundation of happy and harmonious homes. In the ultimate analysis it is the home that reflects your cherished sense of values, your cultural aspirations, your modes of living and your emotional and spiritual longings. It is for you to keep this ideal constantly before you and to correlate it to all your studies and accomplishments.

CUSTODIAN OF TRUST

The woman by common consent is the custodian of a sacred trust, namely the best elements in the spiritual and cultural heritage of the nation. To be able to discharge this trust you have to be fully qualified and equipped for

the task of home-making, according to the cherished values and concepts of your nation.

You have it in your hands to make or mar a whole generation. If you respect your cultural heritage and nurture it with the light and knowledge you gain, your culture will blossom into a living organism which will satisfy all your inward urges, provide fruitful channel for your creative impulses and win you a proud place in the comity of nations.

Remember, no nation has ever achieved or contributed anything worthwhile unless it followed its distinctive ideals and expressed its own genius in significant forms of thought, action and life.

Any education and activity which leads you to imitate and be third-rate copies of any alien culture or way of life, is not only wasteful but injurious. It is not only intellecually degrading but also spiritually suffocating. Nothing can compensate for the loss of soul and faith.

If you delve into your social, cultural and intellectual history you will find sources of inspiration which will spur you to creative thinking and purposeful activity.

SENSE OF APPRECIATION

It does not mean that you should shut yourself from the bracing influence of new forms of knowledge and new intellectual trends. Far from it. What I mean is that you should have a due sense of appreciation and even a sense of pride in your cultural heritage, because it was really the product of your special genius and on its basis you should build your new life, taking advantage of all the good things that modern knowledge and science have to offer.

It is for you to exercise your judgment and discrimination to select the good and reject the undesirable from the standpoint of fundamental principles of your ideology. That alone can evoke original thinking and creative activity on your part.

It is of the utmost importance to establish complete harmony between education and the national ideology and aspirations of the people to whose needs that education is supposed to cater.

Education fails in its purpose if it is removed from the broad stream of national life ; it must have its roots in and take inspiration from the life of the people.

AIM OF EDUCATION

Any super-imposed education is only a form of snobbishness and

tyranny. The aim of education is to cultivate, develop and discipline the mental, spiritual and physical faculties of the youth. The other aspect of education is to build character to train the youth for useful citizenship and for their rightful rôle in the cultural advancement of the nation. Your outlook must be fully in harmony with national ideology, culture and needs.

Without such harmony education has an air of unreality about it, you cannot and must not look upon yourself as a class apart and distinct from the people, because snobbery is the very negation of the spirit of education and culture. You have to mingle your hope and fears interest and aspirations with those of the people. Thus alone will your creative impulses be evoked and you will be able to give of your best in the service of the nation.

I would like to stress the necessity of giving a somewhat practical bias to your education, while it is all very well to enlighten your minds and familiarise yourself with ideas and theories, it is also important to learn to do things with your own hands. There is dignity in labour and it is a soul satisfying pursuit to do and make things which would turn one's home into a heaven of rest and happiness. Muslim womanhood has a proud tradition in this respect and it is for you to keep up this tradition."

86. SPEECH AT ISLAMIA COLLEGE, LAHORE, 1957

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah while addressing the students of Islamia College, Lahore, in December, 1957.

(*Editor*)

"I thank you for the opportunity you have given me of addressing you today. College life provides a very happy and fortunate period in the life of an individual. It is the time when mental faculties reach a degree of maturity adequate enough to undertake responsibilities. Assimilation of knowledge along with the utilization of faculties for shouldering responsibilities is, therefore, a necessity at this particular period in life.

While he has to attain a fair amount of intellectual capacity he must also be given an opportunity to prepare himself for shouldering other responsibilities of life. Every youth of today is a potential leader, parliamentarian, legislator and ambassador of tomorrow. In those capacities it will be necessary for him to work in public institutions and social organisations which will give him the desired basic training to equip him adequately when he closes the door of the college upon him to get him into the area of much wider arena of much wider work in his future life Scientists particularly will be able to blend social and political life of the country with the scientific system.

The system of education must be able to equip the people with burning zeal for selfless and devoted service in the cause of Pakistan. They must be trained and inculcated with the quality of leadership in all spheres of public and private life whether civil or military, technical or academic, high or low.

SECOND FIDDLE

It should be no longer their duty to play a second fiddle to unsympathetic, apathetic or exploiting persons. Time that is past has already inflicted a severe loss and we must wake up before the damage done becomes irreparable.

With the end of political servitude the servile attitude of mind must go. Ideas, values and modes have to be tested and assessed in the light of your knowledge and fundamentals of your faith. Education does not consist

burdening your mind with a dead weight of inert and lifeless ideas and facts and figures.

It is rather a process which must stimulate your power of thinking and your latent faculties and energies. It is a process which must help mould your character and equip you with moral qualities like integrity, selflessness, courage, fellow feeling, sympathy and willingness to put the national good above the personal interests.

NO LUXURY

Remember that Pakistan is an ideological State. To fulfil this ideological purpose you have to follow a hard way of life. Pakistan, if it wished to develop into the type of State that its founder visualised—a citadel of peace, progress and prosperity—cannot afford to be a nation of milksops given to ways of ease and luxury. We must depend on our own work and practise austerity instead of living on doles.

The threat to your ideological integrity you can meet by reinforcing your faith in postulates and fundamentals of the movement that created Pakistan. Remember it is always possible to repair physical or material weakness but there can be no remedy for the weakening of faith in the national ideology. Enlightened vigilance alone can be the guardian of this ideology which provides the dynamic force for your national existence and progress.

The Pakistan Movement was directed in a democratic spirit by democratic methods towards democratic ends namely the establishment of a free social order based on Islamic principles wherein the will of the people would prevail and wherein they would be free from fear, want and distress.

Let me tell you with all the emphasis at my command that political stability and certainty is the basis of national strength and stability in all spheres of life. What we see before us today is anything but the right step towards the realisation of Quaid-i-Azam's vision of Pakistan.

LATENT POWER

I want to remind you not to forget the power that lies latent in you. After all it was by your united voice and organized strength and the force of your opinion that you wrested Pakistan out of unwilling hands.

The spirit and ideals of Quaid-i-Azam are there, his examples and his precepts are there. They beckon us to shed all selfishness.

Freedom casts responsibilities on you from which you cannot get away.

Soon you will have general elections that will be an occasion which will provide you with the opportunity of using your democratic rights.

The candidate you elect should be a person who has the capacity effectively to represent your views, wishes and needs and intelligently to judge and pronounce opinions on the issues coming up before the legislature. He should use his membership of the legislature as a medium of service of the people, the reward of which is bound to come to him in the shape of public confidence and support."

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119. SPEECH AT ROTARY CLUB, 1960

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the annual dinner of the Rotary Club, in July, 1960.

(Editor)

"I thank you for inviting me to be the chief guest at your annual dinner. This is for the third time that I have the opportunity of addressing you, a privilege which I deeply appreciate.

Yours is an organisation which professes noble ideal and promises to bring some light and relief to a world solely affected by forces of darkness. Your motto of service above self is not merely an abstract concept. It represents an attitude and an approach which can be applied to every aspect of life, individual and collective.

It contains the quintessence of wisdom in which lies the secret of true happiness. It is a principle, which, if allowed to permeate every day life and conduct, tends to alleviate every man, whatever his station in life, to a moral plane from which nothing but good emanates for himself and his fellow-men.

No doubt you as men of business and professions have set an admirable example of affording aid and succor to people in their distress through your benefactions and philanthropic works, but to my mind your motto of service above self calls for something deeper and more meaningful.

HABITUAL ATTITUDE

It calls for a habitual attitude which refuses to countenance, selfishness and iniquity in every shape and form and consistently follows a code of ethical values irrespective of material considerations. It is only when justice is ensured and a reasonable level of contentment and prosperity prevails, that stable society is created and it is only in stable society, free from grinding poverty and moral degradation that business and profession can thrive.

One of the evils of present time is the craze of get rich quick and every man for himself. This craze should have no place in a country like Pakistan which came into being as a result of an ethical urge. The

Muslims of this sub-continent through untold sacrifices carved out a separate State in order to have the opportunity of translating their social, cultural and spiritual ideal into practice.

Pakistan came into being to fulfil an ethical objective, namely to demonstrate the efficacy of an ideology in the cause of peace and happiness.

NOT UTOPIAN

Your motto is not utopian, it is eminently practicable. It is your own determination which can make it an effective force in life. A moral convention freely accepted and practised is of greater consequence than even rules and regulations if you make it a point of honour to follow it.

You command respect and create goodwill which are more valuable assets than temporary gains. You have the opportunity to give a lead through your own conduct which would put fresh life and vitality into an inert and languishing society.

Before partition this part of the sub-continent was under-developed. Within the last 12 years of independence, the industrialists and businessmen have, no doubt, made tremendous progress towards industrialising the country and have contributed their share towards the building up of Pakistan.

But, I should like to draw your attention to one or two fields through which you can, by virtue of your advantageous position, render useful service,

Firstly, you can help create fresh avenues for employment by further industrialisation.

Secondly, you can assist in expanding educational facilities so that our young men may be trained in scientific and archaeological studies.

SOUND INVESTMENT

Money spent in this behalf is very sound investment for it directly helps in the training of a larger number of the young people who are urgently needed to run all the development projects of the country in the fields of industry, agriculture, power and social welfare.

The world is dangerously poised on the crest of what may be called a volcano of fierce passions of intolerance, hatred, violence and domination. There are conflicts of body and soul, profession and practice, matter and spirit. Forces of nature are being increasingly conquered but man has no control over his own ego and elemental passions.

It is crisis of spirit. It is clear beyond doubt that material conquest and possessions alone are not going to bring peace and salvation to humanity. What is needed is a change of moral outlook, a re-valuation of values. All desire to exploit and dominate one another or to interfere with one another's way of living has to be eschewed.

Every group of people, however small or weak, must be accorded its right to self-determination and allowed its own way of life in peace and freedom. Economic exploitation has to yield place to economic co-operation.

In other words it may be said that the principles of service above self must extend from the domain of individual life to the international sphere. Unless nations like individuals learn to conduct themselves in the spirit of service, toleration and co-operation, there is no future for humanity".

120. MESSAGE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1960

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah to the nation on the eve of Independence Day in August, 1960.

(Editor)

"Today is the thirteenth anniversary of the most auspicious day in our national life—the day on which we emerged as an independent member of the comity of nations. The significance of the event should not be lost sight of. It was not only a government that came into existence ; it marked the birth of a nation and a State When a society finds its ideals and values jeopardised in an inimical environment, it strives to free itself from that cramping influence. Its emergence as an independent entity is the culmination of an ideological and cultural struggle. This exactly has been the experience of the Muslim society in this sub-continent. The soul of this society was threatened with annihilation by forces opposed to the ideals of social justice, equality, and fraternity. However, Quaid-i-Azam, with his single—minded devotion, and undaunted, defied geography and created history, when Pakistan was established in 1947, crowning his efforts with success. It is now free to assert itself and galvanise both the nation and the State

CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY

The creation of Pakistan is, thus, both a challenge and an opportunity. It is a challenge because it casts on us a *responsibility* to prove by our constructive endeavours our title to live and develop as a nation unified by community of thought and life out-look. It is an opportunity, for we have a clear field to translate into practice our cherished notions of an ideal social and economic structure. Such an ideal must evoke your noblest impulses and energies along purposeful and creative channels.

BURNING FAITH

There is no doubt that Pakistan started its career as an independent nation, under most unpropitious circumstances and crippling handicaps. What is it that enabled you to survive the stupendous difficulties under which even well-established States might have reeled and straggered? It was

faith in your destiny and unity of purpose you have to recreate the same burning faith and the same will to surmount your difficulties. History proves that danger and adversity can test but can never break the spirit of a Musalman. In fact, his best talents come into play only in moment of trial and tribulation.

The world is entering the Age of space conquest. There is no room for those who are infected by lethargy and lassitude. You have to achieve in months what others achieved in years. If your gaze is clearly fixed on your goal, nothing will deter you from marching with sure and rapid steps on the road to progress and prosperity. Develop your inherent strength by holding fast to your own moral and spiritual values. Ceaseless action supported by unwavering faith should be your motto It helped you achieve emancipation from the yoke of two mighty forces ; it will again help you in the grimmer struggle of winning economic stability for the country and protecting it from threats to its security.

Eighty million peopie of Pakistan have nothing to fear. You have a history which is replete with instances of noble deeds of service and sacrifice in worthy cause and of glorious achievements in all fields of human endeavour. You have all the qualities which go to make a great nation. Through faith, unity, and discipline there is no obstacle you cannot overcome and no height you cannot attain. May the remembrance of this auspicious day lead you to greater success, progress and prosperity."

121 SPEECH AT KARACHI ATHLETIC CLUB, 1960

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech on the occasion of the prize distribution of Karachi Athletic Club in September, 1960.

(*Editor*)

"I am glad to be here this afternoon to distribute the prizes and certificates of the Karachi Athletic Club.

Among several human activities that help a man to build up a successful life, sport is certainly one of the most important. Only a sound body can develop a sound mind. Highest sportsmanship does not go with merely winning the game, but you must play the game with its highest traditions. One may win or lose but he loses most who lacks the sportsman spirit. Strong determination and careful training of character alone can make a player a good sportsman which he ought to be above every thing else. Character occupies a most important place in human make-up.

The field where one plays the game opens avenues to show the highest virtues and their values against odds and handicaps. It enables one to bring out many qualities such as discipline, bravery, judgment and team spirit which are very essential for success in life.

I do hope that the youth will be provided with more and more facilities to fulfil their requirements in the field of sports.

The need of a stadium in Karachi is long felt, as it is very necessary for organising sports and games on proper lines I hope this desire of the people will soon be fulfilled.

You must realise your immense responsibilities. As free men you must develop a life of high human values and virtues, for that alone will make you worthy and ensure a brilliant future. On the shoulders of youth, devolves the onerous task of building of a nation. Your unbounded enthusiasm and your efforts are always priceless possessions of which a nation can boast. Future of the nation is always in the hands of the youth and you have to play your part to shape the destiny and future of our land. You are the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of a great State that Quaid-i-Azam visualised and I want you to live up to his expectations.

I thank the organisers of the tournament for inviting me to this function and also for your address of welcome and wish you all success.

Finally I congratulate those who have won the prizes and I hope the losers will strive hard to do better next time."

122. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1960

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the occasion of 12th death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam in September, 1960.

(*Editor*)

"It is with a heavy heart I pick up my pen to address you today and join you on the 12th anniversary in commemoration of the memory of Quaid-i-Azam. His deep burning love for the nation has left a void. On this day your hearts no less than mine are filled with grief. I join you and pay my homage to his memory.

Perhaps sometime, we are apt to take our free national existence for granted and forget the tremendous efforts and sacrifices which preceded the dawn of freedom. Perhaps, also, there is not enough appreciation of the truth that freedom by itself is a gift which has to be prized above every other worldly possession. No people can realise their inner-self and use their potentialities without freedom and independence as a nation. It is only when we learn to appreciate the value of freedom as the most potent factor in the realisation of our destiny that we will understand the true significance of the historic role of the Quaid-i-Azam as the Creator of a State of which there is hardly any precedent in history.

OUTSTANDING FEATURE

When we think of Quaid-i-Azam's phenomenal success, the question that strikes is what was the most outstanding feature of his leadership. He was above all a great constitutionalist and a great respector of democratic principles. Throughout his career as leader of the freedom movement and as Head of Pakistan State, he conducted himself strictly according to constitutional propriety.

He did so because he realized that constitutionalism is a prime condition for the proper canalisation of a people's urges and energies towards a purposeful end. It gives meaning, balance and stability to a people's life. It creates in them the qualities of cooperation and organised effort without which there can be no orderly progress. It also helps to foster an attitude of mind which shows respect to law and keeps desires and ambitions under proper restraint.

Another feature of his leadership which would strike any observer is the Quaid-i-Azam's complete indentification with his people's sentiments,

wishes and aspirations. His trust in the people was genuine and whole-hearted, the people on their part gave him their support and loyalty in a measure which does not often fall to the lot of leaders. There was nothing supercilious in his attitude towards the people. His sincerity and genuine solicitude for their security and well-being evoked the warmest response from them. With their solid support and their willingness to make every sacrifice at his behest, he was able to throw the gauntlet to two mighty forces and wrest freedom from unwilling hands. Leadership, therefore, is not a mere matter of shrewdness or astute strategy; it should be grounded in moral and spiritual qualities which alone win lasting devotion and support.

HISTORY

The history of Pakistan begins from 1936 when the movement was launched by the Muslim League under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. It took him four years to prepare the ground and bring the Mussalmans of the sub-continent on one platform and under one flag. In 1940 the goal was declared which ultimately led to the establishment of Pakistan, of which every Pakistani is proud That you continue to remember him with the same favour and love as you showed in his lifetime proves that in spite of all vicissitudes, your essential faith in the ideals and values he placed before you remains unshaken. Let me assure you that so long as this faith is alive no harm will really come to you or to Pakistan.

From his childhood, there were signs that he would be a man of destiny. His qualities of leadership were self-discipline, devotion to duty, strength of will and a certain sense of detachment from surrounding circumstances. Right from the beginning he seemed to be conscious of a high purpose and inspired by a vision and a passion for service he always adhered to the highest standards of rectitude and never allowed himself to be lured by prospects of success through dubious means. For him, the end did not justify the means. In his life long struggle against the forces of aggression and injustice chicanery and hypocrisy, he had temporary failures and disappointments but succeess was ultimately his.

He always fought with clean weapons What sustained him throughout his life was an unwavering faith and the spiritual strength borne out of that faith—faith in God, faith in Islam and confidence in his ability to overcome difficulties. To those who doubt the ascendency of moral values over the mundane forces his life can be held out as an object lesson".

Surely you possess the same qualities and potentialities as before. You have not undergone any intrinsic meta-morphosis.

Your difficulties are due partly to the deviation of leaders and parties from the principles and ideals of the Pakistan movement and partly to your own indifference and neglect. Remember that Pakistan came into being as an ideological State and it can exist only as such. The fulfilment of the mission that Pakistan represented demanded unswerving adherence to its basic ideology and untiring efforts to build up its polity and economy in accordance with that ideology.

It was a tragic irony of fate that before its integrity could be fortified and its ideological foundations strengthened, the country's destiny passed into the hands of elements who had not shared the faith and the struggle which accounted for the birth of Pakistan. While this is indeed, deplorable the people cannot evade their shares of responsibility. You can expect benefits and advantages to flow from freedom but you have to be prepared to shoulder the responsibilities and obligations which freedom brings in its wake.

Indeed freedom means unrestricted opportunity to strive and work for the evolution of the society of your dreams. It means constant vigil and ceaseless action, in a free democratic society the people have to play a very positive and significant role.

To day the National Parliament consisting of 78 members, who are supposed to represent 80 million people, are doing what they like and there is nobody to question them. Everything revolves round them. This situation has arisen because the manner in which they were returned provides no check on their conduct.

The people cannot and must not be mute spectators of what is done in their name and on their behalf with regard to the conduct of the affairs of the State. The people are the real sovereign power. It is for them to see that the organs of the State function in consonance with their will and wishes. There is no justification for an attitude of indifference on your part. When you see evidence of deviation from your cherished ideals and values or find things going wrong, it is not only your right but also your duty to create by all legitimate means open to you, a climate of opinion which would rectify errors and compel respect for the people's wishes and aspirations.

You have only to realise and appreciate the immense power that lies latent in an organised, disciplined and sensitive public opinion. Look within yourselves, search your hearts, create your own power by the use

of your latent faculties. If you recapture your soul and galvanise your energies with faith in your country and your ideology you will be releasing such currents of thought and action as can change the entire face of the country and set it on the road to progress and prosperity.

PUBLIC LEADERS

Here let me turn for a moment to those who profess or happen to be the leaders of public life. I would not refer here to their many faults and failings. But there is one basic point to which I must draw their attention pointedly.

They have tried all methods and devices which have failed to do good to themselves or to the country. What is the main and real cause of this failure. The reason is they have never given a chance to real democracy to function, because they seem to think that the people are ignorant and do not understand things and there would be chaos if power goes into their hands. But I ask them what greater chaos and confusion can there be than the one which prevails in the country today.

Let me tell them that they have always overlooked the profound truth that real power and authority vests in and accrues from the people. Backdoor methods may bring some temporary success but they never solve any problem and certainly can help the country to attain a modicum of equilibrium and stability which is so essential for its orderly progress and development, indeed its very existence.

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

In a democratic society the emphasis has to be on collective life and principles and not individuals. A society which is ruled by ideas and principles lives and thrives but it stagnates and withers if it allows itself to be dominated by the whims and fancies of individuals.

You have only to look to the example of the Quaid-i-Azam. He never looked to individuals. He took inspiration from the people and relied on their support and confidence. Therein lay the secret of his success and the success of the movement he led. As he himself said on one occasion.

'It is now the authority of the Millat that you have to bow to, though you may be the tallest poppy in the land'. That is the lesson which all those who aspire to popular leadership have to learn. Whatever aspirations you have, whatever may be your programme and policy can best be achieved and implemented if you turn to the people and win their trust, approval and confidence.

RIGHT APPROACH

There is no problem and no difficulty which cannot be solved if you can approach it with the assurance of organised and enlightened public opinion behind you. It is time that all methods of short-circuiting public opinion and public demands were given up. Those who resort to manoeuvres and machinations only succeed in raising a Frankestein which ultimately threatens to devour them. It is in everyone's interest to return to the path of having all issues debated and decided in the open forum of public opinion.

Before I conclude I must tell you that we are passing through very critical times. The supreme interests of the country demand that everyone should curb personal ambitions and dedicate himself to the cause of the integrity and stability of the country. You should be actuated only by one aim namely to bring about a set of conditions in which the people will be able to exercise their sovereignty because that is the only panacea for all the ills from which the country has suffered so long.

In the words of the Quaid-i-Azam I say to you : 'Eighty millions of Mussalmans have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their own hands and as a well-knit solid organised united force can face any danger and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your own hands. Be true and loyal and I feel confident that success is with you. Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

91. SPEECH AT GIRL GUIDES MEETING, KARACHI, 1958

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the Council meeting of the Girl Guides in Karachi in January, 1958.

(Editor)

"I feel great pleasure in inaugurating the Karachi Girl Guides Annual Council meeting today.

Well, we have assembled here in connection with Girl Guides Association's Annual Council meeting at this headquarters; and it is meet that we should understand and recognise the significance of this day. It is not merely a day of illumination, parades and festivities which, of course, are very important, being external manifestations of our inner happiness and spontaneous joy—but it is also a day of introspection and retrospection. It is a day of stock-taking of our past achievements and deficiencies and also a day of our fresh expectations and new resolutions.

Girl Guides movement inculcates in the Guides from tender age, the character of high quality and builds up the qualities of self-reliance, self-discipline, cheerfulness and sense of duty and considerations for others, which prepares to shoulder your responsibilities in every walk of life and which will be of great value both for your home and your country.

COURTESY

You should not consider anybody too humble or too high but courtsey must be shown to all alike, to those over us and to those under us and to our equals, to those we admire and those we think boring.

It is never out of place, remember, the virtues of honour, trust and loyalty which are entrusted to you at the time of your enrolment, you are expected to fulfil them and to be faithful to these ideals. I am sure the movement is bound to create a body of strong and brave daughters of the nation determined to make an indelible mark on the pages of history.

In every age and every country there has been need of a band of people devoted to the selfless service of the suffering masses of humanity. It has been the glory of such people to set an example of high standards of integrity,

moral rectitude and subordination of self-interest to the good society. Our country today cries out for such a band of high minded people.

I am glad to hear that your organisation has two recent social projects before you, first adult literacy and second grow-more-food. Both are very important and essential objects and I hope you will concentrate your full efforts towards it".

In referring to the winter of 1947 in your speech revive my memories when we held our first council meeting with only seven members. It makes me feel very proud and happy indeed to see what rapid progress you have made in such a short span of time. This is all due to determination and courage, perseverance and systematic efforts.

PRACTICAL

From the very beginning you were practical enough to understand that you had no trained persons and advisers to spread the movement and you laid emphasis on this and today you have fifteen fully qualified trainers and local advisers and others are under training still. This has enabled you to spread out your organisation all over Pakistan and today your membership has risen to 26,000 and the organisation has become very popular.

I congratulate all those who have helped from the beginning as pioneers of this movement, specially Begum G. A. Khan, who has devoted herself to this movement sincerely and done everything to make it a success.

I want you to continue to work in the same spirit of team work and co-operation. Remember, the promise the guide has to make :

1. To do my duty to God and my country ; 2. To help other people at all times.

There are millions of people who need proper guidence, co-operation, and encouragement to better themselves. Here a girl guide, who lives up to the motto of "lend a hand" and "be prepared", has to set a shining example which others are bound to follow and thus make a real contribution to the well-being of the nation.

You have laid the foundation firmly and are now in the building of the organisation in the second stage which is praiseworthy. You have yet to reach the final stage, which is very near. Inshallah, I am looking forward to see you achieve that stage in near future.

Before I conclude I thank you and wish your Conference every success. Pakistan Zindabad".

92. SPEECH AT NURSERY KINDERGARTEN SCHOOL, KARACHI, 1958

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the opening ceremony of the Foddler's Nursery and Kindergarten School, Karachi in February, 1958.

(Editor)

"It gives me great pleasure to perform the opening ceremony of the Kindergarten School sponsored by Bombay Memon Brotherhood.

Your organisation though only recently started has been working very actively in various directions, amongst the activities in which you have been working, you have come to the conclusion of giving priority of spreading education and laid special empahsis on the education of children who are valuable assets and the future architects of the nation. Any venture intended to promote their growth on right lines must command our sympathy and support.

I am glad to learn that the important object before you is to provide facilities by keeping minimum fees of the Nursery and Kindergarten School, thus enabling larger number of less fortunate children also to benefit, who, otherwise would be deprived due to the exorbitant fees, I hope that many such Nursery and Kindergarten Schools are opened.

Childhood, being the most impressionable is regarded as the most important age. During this period, children are very keen to seek knowledge and understand things for themselves and therefore various questions of why and wherefor. It is the duty of both parents and the teachers to guide and explain to them satisfactorily, because the training imparted during this period, will leave its indelible mark on their mind.

Accordingly from the very beginning, they should be trained on such lines as may develop their spirit of action, co-operation, social sense and community life. Education of the children is not an easy task. In fact it is a special art. You should have a staff who should understand child phsychology, which will ensure the efficiency and success of your institution.

Finally I congratulate the organisation for the advancement of child education for starting this school, which is a solid and great national service. For, remember, education is one of the strongest pillars of foundation, on which the nations are built, and key to all progress and prosperity.

I wish the school all progress and prosperity."

93. SPEECH AT INTER-COLLEGIATE DEBATE, KARACHI, 1958

Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered this speech while addressing the students at the All Pakistan Inter-Collegiate Debate at the Central Government College, Karachi in February, 1958.

(Editor)

"After the attainment of freedom the entire context of conditions surrounding your life has changed. As citizens of a free state, you face new outlook and sense of values. You no longer live in a static society where all you had to do was to equip yourself with a few outward accomplishments which would keep you in the forefront of inert society.

The tempo of life is now fast, people are coming into their own and realising more and more their rights and resposibilities. They are demanding with increasing vigour a reappraisal of the decandent social and economic patterns which have had the effect of retarding their progress and prosperity.

The question is what role you are going to play in the new avenues of thought and action that are opening in the country? Your college can not be a *choistered hearth* unaffected by the rumblings of life outside and your education cannot insolate itself from the pressing problems besetting your nation. The prime need is for a change in your outlook which would enable you to look upon yourselves as servants of the nation. In the new environment there is no room for any form of snobbery or aloofness.

You must be ready and willing to identify yourself with the broad strain of national life. Believe me there is nothing more soul-satisfying and more honourable than to use all your talents, accomplishments and energies towards promoting the good of the people of whom you are a part. While going through the progress of education and training it is your duty constantly to keep in mind the interests and problems of the people.

Mere bookwork and getting degrees will not help you. Your greatest weapon which will help you overcome your difficulties is your own character and strength of will, truthfulness and moral courage, willingness to suffer for your convictions and ideals.

All life to be meaningful and purposeful must have a moral foundation otherwise it is sound and fury signifying nothing. In the life of great men you will invariably find that their success and achievements were due to the strength of their character. Therefore I want that emphasis should be laid on character building from young age so that you may be able to serve your country and people.

Finally I congratulate the prize-winners and conclude by recalling to you what the Quaid-i-Azam said about the importance of character and conscience. He observed ; "I can assure you that there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and when you appear before your God you can say that you did your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness. This is the spirit I want you to develop and hope you will work in accordance with it".

94. MESSAGE ON REPUBLIC DAY, 1958

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the eve of Republic Day in March, 1958.

(Editor)

"While offering my greetings and good wishes to the nation on the second anniversary of the Pakistan Republic I cannot help giving expression to the general feeling of regret and dismay that the country has yet to see the realisation in practice of the purposes and values enshrined in the Constitution.

You will remember that the evolution and final adoption of a Republican Constitution itself was a painful and arduous process because of so many obstacles and vicissitudes but when it finally emerged the people had the feeling that their sovereign will and democratic urges had triumphed, and they hopefully looked forward to the day when they would have the opportunity of exercising their sovereign rights so as to translate their cherished ideals and aspirations into practice. But sinister forces inimical to the ideology of which Pakistan is the visible manifestation have been constantly at work, obstructing the people's march to their goal of real freedom.

As I mentioned once before there is some hidden hand which hinders your progress towards the realisation of your democratic destiny ; it is for you to detect it and remove it from your path.

The public life in our country has suffered from many ills and shortcomings, but of late a strange tendency is noticeable. Those who have themselves been guilty of rank opportunism, selfseeking and unprincipled conduct and have been guilty of corrupting political life and damaging the country's administrative and economic structure have started talking of principles, ideals and reforms and laying the blame for their own misdeeds and failures on others with an air of injured innocence. As the old adage goes, those who live in glass-houses have no business to throw stones at others. This attempt to pose as great patriots and reformers after having done the greatest harm to the nation's interest is not going to deceive anyone and the people should discriminate between the true and the counterfeit.

Do not be silent spectators of what is going on. You have the sovereign remedy in your hands. Assert and make your voice felt through an enlightened, disciplined and strong public opinion and you will surely attain your cherished objectives. Remember the great lesson Quaid-i-Azam taught us, namely, to create our own inherent strength, depend on ourselves, and thus win an honoured place in the comity of nations. Pakistan Zindabad".

95. SPEECH IN SIND MUSLIM COLLEGE, 1958

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered on eve of the Annual Day of the Sind Muslim College, Karachi in March, 1958.

(*Editor*)

"I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to address you on the occasion of your Annual Day. I have had this privilege before and if I accept your invitation again it is because I appreciate how much the future of the country depends on your accomplishments during this formative period of your life.

STUDENT'S ROLE

More than a decade ago your nation broke the shackles of political subjection and achieved emancipation from foreign rule. I recall with pride the role which the student community played in the great movement of national liberation for which they received a well-deserved tribute from no less a person than Quaid-i-Azam himself.

Let me tell you, however, that the Pakistan of Quaid-i-Azam's dreams is yet to be realised. His fight for Pakistan did not have for its objective the acquisition of a mere piece of territory. His vision of Pakistan was a society based on solid foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brotherhood of men.

He visualised a social and economic order in which want, distress and injustice would stand eliminated, everyone would have equality of opportunity and enjoy the fruit of his labour, and the creative impulses of the people would find the freest scope of expression and achievement in the moral, spiritual, cultural and material spheres.

CUSTODIAN OF DESTINY

The fight for Pakistan is still on. You are the cream of the nation and the custodians of its future destiny. Your approach to the problems besetting the nation has to be different from that of the demagogue. This is the time when you can acquire and develop the quality of clear, rational and disciplined thinking in all your endeavours to train, equip and qualify yourself. You

have to keep in view the wider perspective of the life of a free and independent people.

It is not individual career alone but the part you can play in the development and expansion of national life that must claim your attention. Thus, with an enlarged mental horizon you have to approach and fulfil your task. It you pass from the individual to the collective, from the material to the transcendental, you will feel all your thoughts and actions ennobled and your energies sublimated to a higher plane. This will be an inspiring and soul-stirring experience which is not something mystical but well within the grasp of everyone of you.

Your one great advantage is that your hearts and minds are free from the corrupting effect of self-seeking and self-aggrandizement. Your sensitive minds certainly cannot remain impervious to the happenings around you, especially when you see vast numbers of your counterymen labouring under the stress of social and economic iniquities.

As youths you are blessed with generous emotions, and you undoubtedly feel the urge to step forward and do your bit to solve the problems. But you have to be on your guard lest you are misled into channels where your energies may be exploited or frittered away.

QUAID'S ADVICE

While it is your duty to keep yourself fully in touch with the conditions around you and to observe and study the political, social and economic developments in your country and even abroad, you must avoid being entangled in what is called practical politics or party politics.

Let me recall to you the sound advice given to the student community by the Father of the Nation Quaid-i-Azam who always had the greatest affection for you. He said, "Your main occupation should be in fairness to yourselves, in fairness to your parents and indeed, in fairness to the State to devote your attention solely to your studies. It is only thus that you can equip yourselves for the battle of life that lies ahead of you. Only thus will you be an asset and a source of strength and of pride to your State. Only thus, can you assist it in solving the great social and economic problems that confront it and enable it to reach its destined goal among the most progressive and strongest nations of the world.

If you use your time and opportunity wisely and well you will undoutedly be in a position to serve your people when called upon to do so. However, even while you are students you can serve the cause of the people in one important respect namely you can assist in creating and developing an

intensive and strong public opinion which will ensure respect for well-recognised principles of political life and public conduct.

I am not referring to the specific policies and programme of particular political parties. But there are certain limits within which parties and public men have to function so as to ensure the growth of a healthy democratic order. You can help in this behalf by promoting an enlightened public opinion which will demand from all public men and parties scrupulous fulfilment of pledges, adherence to party mandate and discipline, conformity to freely accepted principles and policies.

You should educate the people to realise that the successful working of democracy also depends on their conduct as electors. They have to resist not only intimidation and undue pressure but also all kind of temptations and inducements to purchase votes. Their duty does not end with the casting of the vote. They have to keep a constant watch on the activities of their representative. If he goes back on his pledges and forfeits the confidence of his constituents in the discharge of his public duties they should be able, by the sheer weight of collective opinion, to compel him to vacate his seat.

By educating public opinion on. these lines you do not involve yourself with the interests or expediencies of any party but you certainly help the evolution or traditions and conventions which are essential for the successful working of democracy.

Remember, Pakistan itself was the creation of faith and determination, and by unflagging faith and determination alone you can build and develop it into the State of your dreams. However discouraging the circumstances, however depressing the conditions around you, there is really no reason for you to be dismayed or disheartened.

Look at your history. At every crucial stage it is their faith and willingness to put up with sufferings and affliction that has saved the Muslims. You are certainly better placed now to face and overcome difficulties than you were when you successfully fought for your freedom against two hostile forces.

FAITH & STRENGTH

All you need is to have faith in your destiny and create your own inherent strength. In Iqbal's words.

"The flame of life cannot be borrowed from others, it must be kindled in the temple of one's own soul".

Finally, I wish and pray that God may bless you with success and happiness and also grant you opportunities for true and selfless service to your nation and your community."

96. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1958

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr in April, 1958.

(*Editor*)

"On this auspicious day of Eid-ul-Fitr, I offer my greetings and good wishes to the nation and to our Muslim brethren all over the world. Our steadfast devotion and discipline during the month of Ramazan makes us worthy of rejoicing on this happy day.

I wish the joy had been universal in Pakistan. Lakhs of uprooted people without shade or shelter cannot partake of the joy although they suffered that we may survive. Ten arduous years of miseries and sufferings have rolled by. Each Eid perhaps kindled the hope of a joyous next, but has ended in the same disappointment. This problem must be tackled without which there can be no progress in the real sense of the word.

The joy and happiness of Eid-ul-Fitr stems from spiritual discipline and physical restraint voluntarily imposed on themselves by the Muslims. This unique self-discipline and self-purification is meant to stimulate in us the virtues of truthfulness and honesty, compassion, and fellow-feeling as the guiding principles of our conduct in life. These are exactly th virtues which the nation needs to cultivate and practise at this critical stage of its development.

The whole significance of the sacred month of Ramazan and celebration of Eid will be lost if we fail to take inspiration for a determined effort to root out corruption which unfortunately poisons almost every aspect of our national life. Self-discipline and self-effort is the crux of the teachings of Islam which we must remind ourselves of, and resolve afresh to practise on an occasion like the Eid-ul-Fitr.

Our national life continues to be plagued with the besetting problems of food shortages and fallen agricultural production with its resultant effect of rising cost of living. This problem if you carefully analyse the situation, arises from the outmoded system of landlordism. The woes and sufferings of the people seem to produce no effect on those who dominate and control the political and economic life of the country.

The crying need of the hour is a drastic reform of the agrarian system

so as to eliminate exploitation and profiteering and provide incentive for greater production. Unless this is done we can never hope to attain self-sufficiency in food and agaricultural production which alone can provide sound basis for development in other fields, for instance, industry and education. This is a problem which directly concerns the question of preservation of our dearly won freedom and brooks no delay.

MANOEUVRINGS

The vicissitudes through which we have passed in recent years shows clearly that most of our ills and troubles are due to the ufortunate tendency of behind-the-scene manoeuvrings. What the country needs is the restoration of a healthy democratic trend namely eradication of methods of political corruption and bribery and a turning away from the murky atmosphere of back stage intrigues to the bracing sunshine of public debate and popular verdict.

The people always are the real source of strength and without popular support nothing can be achieved and no problem solved. It is high time that this truth was realised by everyone interested in the well-being and progress of Pakistan".

97. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1958

The following is the text of the message of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha in June, 1958.

(Editor)

"I offer sincere greetings and felicitations to the Mussalmans on the auspicious occasion of Eid-ul-Azha. This sacred festival comes as a reminder to us of the spirit of sacrifice which it symbolises in its highest form and which is what we need most in the situation that prevails in our country.

Let us not forget that this beloved homeland of ours was achieved through immense sacrifices made by millions of Muslims, men and women, in the face of stupendous odds and obstacles.

Their struggle and sacrifice was not for the mere purpose of carving out a territory but its objective was to establish and build up a truly free democratic State animated by the vitalising principles of social and economic justice as enjoined by Islam. This is the goal which was placed before us by the Quaid-i-Azam under whose leadership we had successfully struggled to throw off the double yoke of foreign rule and the domination of an alien society.

After his death as misfortune would have it, our march towards the goal of fully democratic State has been dogged by elements and forces who neither participated in our struggle for freedom, nor had any faith in the idealism which inspired that struggle.

By a tragic combination of circumstances the country's destiny fell into the hands of elements who have done their worst to stifle the people's urge for progress and brought the country down to its present state of frustration.

SORRY PLIGHT

This sorry plight has been the direct result of a scramble for pelf and power ignoring all vital national interests and all principles of ethical and political rectitude.

But even in the midst of the encircling darkness there has been one ray of hope. Though subjected to all manner of hardships, exploitation

and frustration, the people have kept up their faith and have manfully striven to overcome one hurdle after another, in their march towards their ultimate destiny. They have begun to see through things and to detect the forces which have stood in the way of realisation of their sovereign rights and cherished ideals.

There should, however, be no relaxation of vigilance because these forces still keep raising their ugly heads. Today I can see in them the stirrings of a new life and a fresh determination to claim and exercise the sovereignty which they achieved as the outcome of a hard and bitter struggle.

Here I would like to remind you that if you recapture the spirit and enthusiasm which characterised the movement for Pakistan itself, the fulfilment of your hopes cannot be far off. Regain your unity by following the path indicated by the Quaid-i-Azam. Work according to the principles inculcated by him and you will find that the obstacles in your path will be swept away like straws in the wind.

ECONOMIC POSITION

The deterioration in our economic position has been going on for some years and no effective steps have been taken to arrest it with the result that our dependence on outside aid has increased. Every now and then statements are issued informing the people about the serious economic crisis, but the question is what are the causes of this crisis, and what measures have actually been taken to overcome it.

So far as the people are concerned, they are already overburdened with taxes and with ever rising cost of living. It is time that economic policies were drastically revised, otherwise the consequences would be most serious.

The biggest problem which faces you is land reform, without a proper solution of which no progress in any sphere is possible. The system of landlordism which hangs like a dead-weight round the necks of millions of our suffering countrymen, is an anachronism. The sooner it is done away with better it would be for the whole country. Meanwhile it is for the people to continue their peaceful struggle to achieve freedom from a system which is iniquitous aud ruinous.

Lastly I appeal to you to have faith in yourself and get ready to use your franchise in a way that would usher in a regime of your choice, devoted to your true welfare and progress".

98. SPEECH AT KHATOON-I-PAKISTAN GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL, KARACHI, 1958

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah while she was performing the formal inauguration ceremony of the Khatoon-i-Pakistan Girls High School, Karachi, in June, 1958.

(*Editor*)

"I am very happy to be able to announce formally the opening of the Khatoon-i-Pakistan Girls High School today.

The Khatoon-i-Pakistan Education and Welfare Board which had sponsored this school was formed on the 28th February, 1953. One of its first decisions was to acquire land for the purpose of setting up educational institutions.

The Karachi Improvement Trust allotted 17 acres of land to this Board but actually gave possession of only 13.6 acres, the balance of 3.4 acres has not been released to the Board in spite of several reminders.

The foundation-stone laying ceremony of the school was held on 25th December, 1955, and construction work was started on the understanding that Government gives half the building grant known as capital grant. The building is completed and the schooi is functioning but we have not yet received the capital grant and thus we are not able to pay the outstanding bills spent on construction.

This has put us in difficult position. Five months back application for grant was sent to the Department concerned but no step is taken as yet. I think in this case the slow pace with which the fulfilment of this promise is moving is rather disquieting.

The mere completion of the building, however, would not by itself have ushered the school into existence. Serious efforts had to be made to procure necessary equipment and furniture and appoint the teaching staff, so that the school could start functioning without delay. I am glad to be able to say that the arrangements were completed well in time and the school has started working from the commencement of the current academic session.

NEW REQUIREMENTS

After the establishment of Pakistan our life has taken a rebirth and we should equip and mould ourselves according to new requirements and

conditions. Do not forget that we have a glorious past and are possessors of a great cultural heritage and our contribution to development of universal culture and civilisation has been of no mean importance.

The progress made by our ancestors in the subjects of Mathematics, Philosophy, Astronomy. Architecture and Medicine etc. is a recognised fact. Their patronage of the learned, their efforts in expanding education, their labour in research work and their establishing hundreds of educational institutions, where people used to come from distant lands to acquire knowledge, is not mere fiction, but forms a bright chapter of world history and you can rightly be proud of it.

GLORIOUS PAST

You may not be unaware of anything else but are certainly unaware of your past glorious history. It was in these circumstances that the Quaid-i-Azam stood up to guide our destinies and by working day and night he miraculously achieved this Pak land for you. Now yours is the responsibility to receive such education and training as may enable you to fulfil your mission.

There is hardly any need for ,me to stress the importance of expansion of educational facilities in an independent country or to point out the paucity of educational institutions run on sound national lines even in the Federal Capital of our country.

AIM OF EDUCATION

The school which formally starts its career today represents an effort, a modest effort, to cater to this vital national need. Our Board is actuated by the desire to provide within the means at our disposal education with a national bias and inspiration.

Education can serve its real purpose only if it is rooted in the cultural heritage of the people and reflects their sense of values and ideology.

To this end it must not confine itself to book learning or formal teaching, but endeavour to stimulate latent faculties and building character.

DIGNITY OF LABOUR

It must instil in the youth the spirit of service above self and a sense of practical work and dignity of labour.

Fortunately in this school an attempt is made to provide a clean, healthy and serene atmosphere, away from the din and noise of the town where the teachers and the taught can devote themselves to their pursuits with peace of mind.

It is hoped that in this school emphasis will be laid on the building of character and inculcation of a national spirit.

We cannot hope for any progress and prosperity in future unless the younger generation is trained and brought up with a sense of legitimate pride in national culture and national attainments and a passionate desire to serve the country and develop its resources so as to win for it a place of honour in the comity of nations.

FAULTY SYSTEM

It is not due to innate inferiority, it is due to the faulty system of education, which tends to impair the healthy spirit of human energy, soundness of judgment and to produce selfishness and deficient sense of national service and solidarity.

Another great defect of the present system of education is that so much stress is laid on knowledge for its own sake, that physical development, building of character and the power of determination are altogether neglected.

Youth appears to have quenched his thirst with crystal clear water from which health giving ingredients have been unconsciously removed. Education of this sort should have no place in an independent and proud community.

Every hour, every day nnd every year that we waste creates a further gap between us and the fast developing world. Education should denote an attempt on part of the adult members of the society, to shape the development of the coming generation in accordance with its own ideals of life and its culture.

DONORS THANKED

Before concluding I would like to express our deep sense of gratitude to all benefactors of the school for their contribution, large or small, to the funds of the school. I particularly wish to offer my best thanks to Mr. Muhammed Ali Habib for his munificent donation of Rs. 2,30,000. He indeed has set an example of public spirit which is worthy of emulation by the well-to-do section of the community.

I now have great pleasure in declaring the school open. It marks only the beginning of the future educational programme of the Board. I also urge the Government and the philanthropic people to show more response to the appeal for grants and funds".

99. MESSAGE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1958

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Independence Day in August, 1958. (*Editor*)

"On this memorable day in the annals of our struggle for freedom, when Quaid-i-Azam 11 years ago unfurled the flag of our freedom and independence, what proud hopes, what yearnings, happiness, joy and pride stirred the hearts of the people on that historic day, the 14th of August 1947, which we all were privileged to witness.

Inspired by the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership, the people's hearts throbbed with determination and enthusiasm to overcome all difficulties and build Pakistan into a State of their dream. This self-confidence and burning desire to go forward was the greatest asset of our people and it more than compensated for the lack of material resources.

But ill-luck befell Pakistan and its destiny fell into the hands of elements who did not work for the fulfilment of the ideals and values which had inspired the Pakistan Movement. The greatest single harm that was done to Pakistan was to undermine the people's spirit of self-reliance, self-help, and determination to surmount difficulties, but the people, undaunted, worked hard to establish themselves in every walk of life.

While I warn all concerned to take note of the signs of time, I say to the people; do not lose heart, but with faith in your just cause carry on your struggle Believe me, the fight for Pakistan is not over. You have crossed only one stage of your struggle; the other and harder stage has yet to be successfully negotiated.

Today Pakistan is being attacked on two fronts, East Pakistan and Kashmir. Some time one front is kept ablaze and at times the other one is attacked. The state of lull does not indicate that the danger is over. Slumber or inertia will not help us. Also, there is a move—and you hear the whispers now and then—that India and Pakistan should be re-united as of yore.

WARNING TO ENEMIES

Let me warn those who are striving towards this end and playing into the hands of the enemies that the people of Pakistan will never be a party

to put on the chains of slavery with their own hands which they have broken in 1947. I also take this opportunity to make it clear to those who are trying to meddle with the internal affairs of Pakistan that the Pakistani nation will not tolerate their interference.

The people of Pakistan should be on the alert and remain united under one banner as they did at the time of achievement of Pakistan. I would like those who are in slumber or in doubt and despair to wake up and those who are hesitating, to join hands for the sake of Pakistan which is the most valuable asset achieved after a tremendous sacrifice. March forward and advance towards your goal of building, preserving, and consolidating Pakistan. Recent events have shown that it is your own inherent strength and faith in your cause that will help you.

ARAB AWAKENING

The world is again in the throes of a dangerous crisis. We cannot be indifferent spectators of these developments. The Arab nationalism has come to stay and it is in no one's interest to try to arrest or block the upsurge of national awakening and freedom among a people who have suffered from foreign domination.

Wisdom demands a sympathetic understanding of the urges pulsating in the hearts of the people, followed by the establishment of a relationship based on amity, goodwill and friendly co-operation. The people of Pakistan who have only recently gone throuph a struggle for freedom and independence will never deprive other smaller countries of their right to freedom.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

I cannot close this message without a reference to the economic situation which gives cause for serious concern.

For years the people have been told again and again that since the country was going through a process of transition from an agricultural economy to a semi-industrial economy they must put up with all hardships. But the argument is played out.

Instead of any improvement in the economic position they are faced with dwindling exchange reserves, ever rising cost of living and falling production. This is all due to faulty economic policies and wasteful expenditure which reflect no credit on any national Government.

EVACUEE PROPERTY

The evacuee property question is also still pending and nothing has

been done to settle this once for all. It seems that this is deliberately being done and the property is being used for the purposes of bribes and corruption to achieve political ends.

In conclusion, I fervently wish and pray that this auspicious day may prove to be the harbinger of an era of extended opportunities of progress and prosperity for the people of Pakistan."

100. SPEECH AT JAMIA TIBBIYA SHARQIA, KARACHI, 1958

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech while inaugurating the Jamia Tibbiya Sharqia, Karachi, in August, 1958.

(Editor)

"It is a matter of great honour and pleasure for me that the inauguration of Jamia Tibbiya Sharqia is taking place today. There was a pressing need of such an institution in the country and it gives me immense pleasure to see that an old desire of the Quaid-i-Azam is being materialised through the Hamdard Dawakhana Trust. This important institution of the Eastern Medicine is the pioneer in this field in Pakistan.

I have always been of the opinion that the secret of progress of a nation lies in getting spiritual inspiration from their education and continuing the constitutional struggle in accordance with their temperament and genius. History is evident that there is no aspect in human life which has not been enriched by the tactful and intelligent contributions of the Muslims.

Among all the arts and sciences which have a direct bearing on the human welfare "Tibb" is the foremost to have been enriched by their concentration and research. Although owing to the political downfall, the marks of the educational achievements acquired by the Muslims had very much fainted, but at least the physicians of this sub-continent, particularly the Hamdard Dawakhana, have done a lot of valuable service for the survival of the bright traditions of the Eastern Medicine. They, not only kept this very useful art alive, but endeavoured to develop it according to the requirements of the changing conditions of the time.

VAUABLE EFFORTS

After the establishment of Pakistan, the Trustees of the Hamdard Dawakhana did not slow down their efforts; they have instead continued their tireless efforts for the progress of the "Tibb" and in the meantime they manufactured many useful patent medicines which were available at all places and were within the easy reach of rich and poor. Today

they have succeeded in establishing an institution to impart the education of the "Tibb" on modern lines. Undoubtedly these valuable efforts of the founders are admirable.

Unfortunately our country is still in the grip of poverty and disease and the medical facilities are scarce. The system of Eastern Medicine can prove to be of much use in the present conditions of the country.

Particularly because it originates from the head and heart of our own people, it is in agreement with their temperament and the cost of treatment, is also low. It is imperative that your instruction and research should conform to the requirements of the present time, the method of your treatment should be of such a standard as to enable the largest possible number of our people to have its benefit and to inculcate in your students those feelings of sympathy and service which has ever been the distinction of this noble profession and which can achieve for them a high position in society.

I pray this institution may prosper and go ahead on the path of progress and the candle for the service of the nation which you have lighted may continue to burn for ever.

In the end, I congratulate Hakim Mohd Saeed and his colleagues once again and perform the opening ceremony with these words".

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101. MESSAGE ON THE DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-AZAM, 1958.

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech broadcast from Radio Pakistan on the occasion of the Quaid-i-Azam's death anniversary in September, 1958.

(Editor)

"Today as I address you on this occasion of the Quaid-i-Azam's death anniversary the poignancy of feelings, natural to this occasion, is accentuated by the conditions prevailing in the country.

Ten years ago he gave into our keeping a homeland and a State which he wanted us to build according to certain principles and ideals which had inspired our struggle for freedom under his leadership. Today it is for all of us to do some honest heartsearching whether we have been true to the heritage he bequeathed to us.

It was not for a mere territory that Quaid-i-Azam had waged his heroic struggle against mighty forces culminating in an achievement which stunned the world by its magnitude and magnificence, but he visualised in Pakistan the evolution of an 'ideal social structure'.

Remember that a people lacking national purpose and objective becomes subject to all kinds of ills—spiritual, political and economic. Its public life loses zest and vitality and is choked by pernicious tendencies of all kinds and ultimately betrayal of national interests. If you want to defeat all these forces of reaction, you must recreate the spirit of self-confidence and self-reliance, and develop your inherent strength.

A DYNAMIC FORCE

The Musalman is a dynamic force and asserts himself best in the worst crisis. It is that magnitude and wonderful ability of his which preserved his existence through centuries of decadence. It is, therefore, the development of that ability that will ultimately help Pakistan to achieve what apparently appears to be a difficult task.

You must maintain the glory of your country for which you have made the world concede your rights. Do not be influenced by any internal

or external pressure which might injure your national prestige and honour. The key of the destiny of the nation is in your hands. Realise your responsibilities and, with your unlimited strength, save Pakistan from destruction so as to bring it higher in the horizon of the world's eternal dawn of new events. We cannot think in terms of Islamic renaissance in the world of today if our own house is divided.

If our strength is not dissipated by creating schisms amongst ourselves, if we do not fritter away our energy in mutual differences and dissensions, if we do not emphasise trivial and temporary matters but sacrifice them at the altar of abiding faith in future, if we do not oblige our opponents and our enemies surely there is no force in the world that can arrest the march of this caravan to its destination.

Those who opposed the establishment of Pakistan have not changed their tactics—more subtle and clandestine methods are being evolved to fight the same battle-to fight for the undoing of Pakistan, to fight to push the Musalmans back into the wilderness. We are fighting these forces in Kashmir, in the jute fields of East Pakistan, and in trade and financial circles and on the border regions.

During the last few years Pakistan has been facing a situation which involves slow but imperceptible strangulation by hostile forces. Though of late there has been some realisation of this dangerous state of affairs, no serious attempt has been made to cope with it and pull the country out of this danger. After all we, who fought and wrested our freedom from two mighty forces, cannot allow ourselves to be slowly strangulated, putting an end to our existence as a free people. The immediate task before you is to face the problem and save the country.

Bring it back on the right path. With the bugles of Quaid-i-Azam's message, march forward under the banner of the star and the crescent with unity, faith, and discipline.

Fulfil your mission and a great and sublime future awaits your enthusiasm and action. Remember : "cowards die many times before their death; the valiant never tastes of death but once." This is the only course of action which suits any self-respecting people and certainly the Muslim nation.

FOREIGN POLICY

At the moment there is a good deal of talk of foreign affairs and foreign policy. It is a good sign that people have started taking keen interest in foreign affairs as they affect our country. Things are moving fast and the rapid developments will not wait to suit our convenience.

We have to shape our attitude to every development as it occurs. We must not think that we are entirely at the mercy of events and have nothing to contribute to the course of international affairs. The Quaid-i-Azam has taught us that those who bend under pressure and accept outside influence are oblivious of their own inherent strength, and those who compromise their principles are not true to themselves.

It is wrong to think that we are essentially weaklings and we have per force to depend on outside aid to prop us. Potentially and strategically we have in us the makings of a powerful nation. If we receive something we must not forget that we have also to give, provided we are not guided by a policy of temporary gains or mere expediency. We can be a force which both East and West will have to reckon with. What we need is a psychological change, a change of attitude. Great nations do not develop a defeatist outlook or an attitude of dependence. Realise your potentialities ; work ceaselessly to develop them, and you will be more sought after than you may have to seek.

FINANCES

Let us turn to the amazing financial situation. We should understand, in fact, that with such an important leak in the hull of the ship of State, any great voyage of progress is well-nigh impossible. Finance is, then, one of the most delicate and urgent problems to be solved if we want to rebuild and elevate our credit abroad and at home. At a time when such acute distress prevails, the people are naturally worried if they see evidence of any extravagance or wasteful expenditure. They have a right to ask whether the large amount of expenditure incurred on frequent pleasure trips out of public funds is in the national interest.

It is wrong to assume that the prestige of the country demands display of wealth or maintenance of standards and modes of living obsolutely unrelated to the conditions of the common people. The respect which a country commands depends on the general standard of living, the level of education and the extent of welfare services it provides for the common man and not on the pelf and luxury of a small privileged class. It is for you to create a climate of opinion which would ensure greater respect for the people's rights and interests and a more sympathetic understanding of their difficulties and needs.

The fury of floods has once again caused tremendous damage all over Pakistan tearing asunder thousands of people from their hearths and homes. My deepest sympathies are with those who have suffered.

Inspired by the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership, the people's hearts throbbed with a determination and enthusiasm to overcome all difficulties and build Pakistan into a State of their dream. This self-confidence and burning desire to go forward was the greatest asset of our people and it more than compensated for the lack of material resources. I would like to conclude with the stirring words of Quaid-i-Azam. There is many example in the history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you not succeed like many others. You have only to develop the spirit of 'Mujahids'. You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory. Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad".

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102. SPEECH AT A BAZAM MILAD-UN-NABI, KARACHI, 1958

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech while addressing the Bazme Khwateen Miladun Nabi in Karachi, in October, 1958.

(Editor)

"I deem it a privilege to preside over today's Majlis-i-Eid-Milad where some enlightening speeches will be made on the work and life of the Holy Prophet. The month of Rabiul Awwal is a month of joy and festivity for the world at large as it was in this month that the greatest of men was born who restored unto mankind the liberty and independence they were deprived of. It was he who proclaimed that a true Momin is not a slave to any monarch, nor is he supposed to bow before any other worldly power. All sovereignty belongs to one God and all obedience is due to Him alone.

When we study the history of the world we find that the Holy Prophet was a perfect model and a true ideal for all mankind. The evolution of humanity shows us that life in its onward march through ages has to encounter many conflicts at every stage. If at one time savagery and barbarism are the rule of the day, then at another time imperialism and lust for conquest have to be dealt with. While one age is an age of vice yet another age may be an age of economic unrest, and so on.

NO SOLUTION

To escape from these evergrowing problems, man has often tried either to be too spiritual or to be entirely materialistic but unfortunately neither way could help him in obtaining salvation. We need not go too far to elaborate the point since the conflict of the modern age is just before us.

The so-called modern man has made tremendous progress in harnessing the forces of nature and by means of his science and technology he is now aspiring to reach the stars. However, do it as it is, we cannot say that commensurate with the intellectual progress, man has also been successful in securing for himself any measure of that mental contentment which is the object of all strife.

We observe that today's world is divided into two major blocs, and each of them is contesting to gain the upper hand. Man has become enemy of

man, and large-scale massacres are taking place every now and then. Exploitation in utter disregard of moral values is going on. Powerful nations are sucking the blood of economically under-developed countries, and it seems there is no way out of this labyrinth.

But to one who can coolly analyse the situation, all is not darkness. The life and teachings of the Holy Prophet are there to guide us, provided we are prepared to mould ourselves according to his teachings.

As a matter of fact, it has already been too frequently repeated that if the Musalmans devotedly follow the teachings of their Prophet, they can be able to lead the world. Now the question arises : what is the best course that we may adopt to achieve this end. Let us turn to the Prophet's life itself. We find that when the first batch of Muslims in Mecca set about to preach Islam individually they could convert only a handful of men.

EMBRACED ISLAM

But after the Hegira when they organised themselves and launched a collective campaign thousands and thousands of unbelievers embraced Islam within no time. It follows, therefore, that organisation, discipline, and collective efforts are needed for development of our creed.

The early Muslims led a simple and honest life, and possessed a force of character by means of which they became a mighty power in the world. Remember that Islamic character need no artificial illumination ; it is a jewel which shines by its own light. If we could not make any progress the fault lies at our own doors.

All we need is to adopt the Islamic righteousness, truth and sincerity ; to reconstruct ourselves according to the Islamic scheme of things ; and to cherish fraternity, justice and that spirit of sacrifice which was so characteristic of our forerunners. If we do so, there is no reason why we should not be able to solve the complex problems of life and lead the world.

With these words I thank the organisers of the Bazme Khwateen Miladun Nabi for inviting me on this occasion and wish them every success."

103. SPEECH AT SIR SYED GIRLS COLLEGE KARACHI, 1958

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah while she was inaugurating the Students Union of Sir Syed Girls College, Nazimabad, Karachi, in November, 1958.

(*Editor*)

"I am grateful to you for inviting me to the inaugural function of your College Union. It is always a pleasure for me to associate myself with an institution devoted to the cause of imparting right education and training to the youth who would build up a glorious future for their country ; and I am glad to know that your college is making appreciable progress. No doubt your foremost problem today is the lack of a proper building, and I hope and pray that you will succeed in your efforts to construct a building of your own.

The Union occupies a significant position in the life of the students of every university and college. It would be no exaggeration to say that the training imparted by Union Societies has enabled many people to play leading roles in running the affairs of their country. The Union is not only a forum for debate and discussion where you learn the art of speaking ; it is or it should be also a centre which brings together youth with different ideas, tasks and aptitudes and enables them to rub shoulders and exchange ideas with one another, evolve healthy traditions and develop common outlook, loyalty and sympathy. It stimulates their talents and faculties and releases their energies along healthy channels. I sincerely hope that your Union is developing along these lines and you are making the best use of the opportunities offered by it.

STANDARD OF EDUCATION

One of the most important things to which we should apply our mind today is the standard of education. It is a far reaching disaster when standards fall and students who have merely crammed a limited syllabus can claim to be graduates of their university. There is an oft-quoted jingle to the effect that when everybody is somebody, then nobody is anybody. A degree too easily gained rapidly becomes waste paper. If it is true that a truly educated and cultured woman is a better wife and mother and a better citizen, it is equally true that a student who has lazed her way through college merely seeking to obtain some sort of examination label in the shortest possible time, with the

least possible amount of work, is the worse for such expenditure of the precious years of youth. The practice of cramming bazar notes, of seeking to 'spot' the likely questions of memorising matter which is not understood, and of which no understanding is sought, leads straight to defeating the very aim and object of true education. Far better to know one thing really well than to have a smattering of six ; far better to be a really good homemaker than a half-baked B. A.

Education is not only a primary need but is also one of the strongest pillars on which progress of the country depends. It is education which enables the citizens to understand, appraise, and redirect forces, men and events for the benefit of the country. In performing this role education will necessarily vary its means and methods but it will achieve its ends more successfully if its programmes and policies are relevant to the characteristics and needs of our society. It is an irony of fate that our educational problems have not been approached so far with that honesty and earnestness which they deserve.

We can no longer throw the responsibility of our ills on the shoulders of others. Let us work ceaselessly and honestly to build up a Pakistan of our ideals. Luxury and slumber is the other name of death, whereas struggle and endeavour is action, which is life. Success is yours and there is nothing to come in your way provided you make it your habit to work regularly and unceasingly. Remember that high hills grow less as we ascend them.

WORD TO WOMEN OF PAKISTAN

Let me now, through you, address a few words to the women of Pakistan in general. You have to shoulder great responsibilities towards the betterment of your nation, and, therefore, you have to equip yourselves for the tasks that lie ahead. Let not the historian of the future say you failed to rise up to the Quaid-i-Azam's expectations after he had left to you such a glorious heritage as Pakistan. With active co-operation and hard work you can help a great deal to expedite the progress and prosperity of the people and the country. In Pakistan, there is a great need today of inculcating a spirit of complete self-sacrifice, restraint and subordinating individual interests to those of the national ones.

In conclusion I would say—have faith and determination, be true and loyal to yourself and your country, and success will be yours. I thank you again for giving me this opportunity of meeting and addressing you and I wish you a bright future."

104. SPEECH AT JOSEPH'S COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, KARACHI, 1958

Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered this speech while addressing a Mothers Day gathering at the St. Joseph's College for Women at Karachi in November 1958.

(Editor)

"I thank you for your invitation on the occasion of the Mothers' Day and am glad to participate in the function this afternoon. Such social functions go a long way in bringing together the mothers and the college staff, and provide good opportunities for establishing closer contacts.

Today, we cannot escape the notion that parents depend too much on educational institutions in the upbringing of their children, whereas the responsibility of this all-important task lies equally well on the teachers as well as on the parents. A school or a college can impart classroom instruction, but it cannot be a substitute for home training. No doubt if the teachers and the parents equitably share their responsibilities, good results can be expected.

Here I would like to say that there are many ways in which women can contribute to growth and strength of the nation. The destiny of the nation lies more in your hands than in any other. It is the women who are principally responsible for upbringing of the children and shaping of their character. As the progress and stability of the State ultimately depends on the character of the people, it merits your fullest attention.

UNCOMMON VALOUR

Our history abounds in the instances of the women, who for the glory of the nation and the cause of truth, set up standards of uncommon valour and sacrifice. Let our women emulate them so that those noble traditions may be kept alive The role played by our women in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan will go down as a great landmark in the annals of history and I am sure that you will shoulder your responsibilities and contribute your share towards building it up.

If the spirit of service and sacrifice is shown, conditions in Pakistan will be so transformed that you will create a new faith and joy amongst the people and remove the feelings of despair and frustration and thus enable them to look upon life with renewed hope and confidence.

NOT DEGREE LABELS

The Quaid-i-Azam always emphasised that without education it is darkness and it is education that can bring light. The word education does not mean acquiring of a mere examination label—in its real sense it means the attainment of that ability through which you may be able to redirect the forces of events according to your standards of values.

I hope that you will pay a great attention towards the education of your children which in itself will be a great service to the nation.

I appreciate the step taken by the St. Joseph's College to create closer unity and co-operation among the mothers and the staff. Finally I thank you once again for inviting me to this social function."

105. SPEECH AT CONVOCATION RECEPTION KARACHI UNIVERSITY, 1958

The following is the text of Miss Fatima Jinnah's address at the Karachi University Old Boys Convocation Evening Reception in December, 1958.

(Editor)

"Let me, first of all, thank you for inviting me on this auspicious occasion such as the Convocation Evening.

As you know, I have been very much interested in the educational activities of our youth because of their dominating influence on the future progress of the country as a whole. That is the main reason why I have often tried to avail myself of such opportunities in order to give vent to my feelings in the sanguine hope that you will try to understand the reality of the situation and would ultimately equip yourself in such a way as to make your nation worthy of its traditions and status.

Graduation is a happy event in the life of the youth. It is the fulfilment of one step of his limited aspirations and ambitions. It is his goal; which glittered in his eyes as he burnt the mid-night lamp with books in his hands. But like all events in one's life. it is only a stepping stone to a greater goal. Today some of you have by your preseverance and efforts reached your goal, donned your gowns and received your degrees. You are happy and so am I. I congratulate you all on this achievement.

You have rightly enumerated three different categories of the students while they are in the process of prosecuting their studies at school or in colleges. I hope that in the near future these problems of yours will be solved. There is also one other difficulty and that is that all the students are interested in certain specific educational fields with the result that there is too much concentration in those fields and when ultimately they come out with their degrees there is not much scope of their absorption in practical life. It would, therefore, be a good thing if they would split up into different educational fields in such a way as to provide and maintain an equilibrium in all the practical fields in which they can be more economically and advantageously absorbed. We have got great potential resources which require a large technical personnel today. The need of the time has changed today. We want scientists, economists, geologists, architects and I want you to divert your attention to these new avenues which are so necessary for the development of

our various industries. Ours is a country not fully developed. The present generation, no doubt, will have to make strenuous efforts and work hard and make sacrifices.

NEW OUTLOOK NEEDED

After the attainment of freedom the entire context of conditions surrounding your life has changed. As citizens of a free State, you have to develop a new outlook and sense of values. You no longer live in a static society where all you had to do was to equip yourself with a few outward accomplishments which would keep you in the forefront of an inert society. The tempo of life is now fast, people are coming into their own and realising more and more their rights and responsibilities. They are demanding with increased vigour a reappraisal of the decadent social and economic patterns which have had the effect of retarding their progress and prosperity.

The question is what role you are going to play in the new avenues of thought and action that are opening out in the country ? The prime need is for a change in your outlook which would enable you to look upon yourselves as servants of the nation. In the environment there is no room for any form of snobbery or aloofness. You must be ready and willing to identify yourself with the broad system of national life. Believe me, there is nothing more soul-satifying and more honourable than to use all your talents, accomplishments and energies towards promoting the good of the people of whom you are a part. Your greatest weapon which will help you overcome your difficulties is your own character and strength of will, truthfulness and moral courage. Life to be meaningful and purposeful must have a moral foundation, otherwise it is sound and fury signifying nothing. In the life of great men you will invariably find that their success and achievement were due to the strength of their character.

You are now on the threshold of a new but real life where you will come in contact with hard realities. Your success lies in the fact that you face them with courage and determination. There is no royal road to success or glory but through devotion to duty and through high principles of moral values set out by Islam. Faith in your ability and in your ideal, courage and conviction and, above all, righteousness of your cause will ultimately triumph. God will help you to success."

106. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1958

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's message broadcast from Radio Pakistan on the occasion of Quaid-i-Azam's birthday in December, 1958.

(Editor)

"Today as I speak to you over the Radio, I am fully conscious of and I share the feelings of joy and pride aroused on this auspicious occasion of the birthday of the Father of the Nation. Whlie we celebrate it we should try to grasp the significance of the ideals he stood and worked for. You have to revive the spirit he inculcated in you and allow it to vitalise every pulse of your national life.

It is heartening that there are signs now of swing-back to the ideal and the spirit which led up to the creation of Pakistan as an independent Muslim homeland. Quaid i-Azam with his lofty vision saw farther than others. He viewed the establishment of Pakistan as something more than the mere formation of a Government. He wanted his people also to broaden their vision after the attainment of freedom.

In the course of a speech in East Pakistan in March, 1948, he said. 'It is natural for some to think in terms of Government but the sooner we adjust ourselves to new forces the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of State and of our nation the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realise the great ideals of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State. I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire, it must assert itself galvanising not only the State but also the nation."

MARKED FEATURES

The Quaid-i-Azam visualised for Pakistan a social and economic order, the marked features of which are brotherhood, equality of manhood and equality of opportunity for all. It is these ideals which provide the incentive

for evolving an ideal social structure in our State. Quaid-i-Azam laid stress on the difference between mere Government and possibilities of a free State because he wanted the people to keep before their mind's eye a goal and an ideal which alone could evoke and stimulate their talents and energies to high and purposeful endeavour. Without a soul-moving goal to work for, even freedom can degenerate into something putrefied. Government is a mere instrument; State is something larger and more comprehensive. If you realise this truth you develop the right psychological attitude which helps you transcend momentary difficulties and obstacles and move towards a higher destiny.

The most crucial problem of our economy today is the question of agrarian reforms and unmitigated capitalism. That Quaid-i-Azam was fully alive to these problems is reflected in the observations he made, in April, 1943, when he said bluntly:

"I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficuit to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. I have visited villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan?... If this is the ideal of Pakistan I will not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they do not. God help them: we shall not help them."

Could there be a more forthright and emphatic condemnation of the system of landlordism and capitalism which accounts for the backwardness of Pakistan? Quaid-i-Azam definitely considered the present agrarian system and capitalistic economy to be a system in which he desired a radical change which would prevent exploitation and emasculation of millions of tillers of the soil and labourers and enable them to lead a life of security and prosperity.

PROVINCIALISM

Another evil which dealt a serious blow to our national unity and the fabric of our national life was the widespread tendency of thinking and acting in terms of provincial and racial groupings. The rise of this tendency, again, was due to the fact that the basic ideal which brought Pakistan into existence was lost sight of. We achieved our freedom, and our homeland as a Muslim nation. Quaid-i-Azam was emphatic on this point. He declared; Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslims, nation and so it must remain. That unity we, as true Muslims, must jealously guard and preserve...the danger to our unity still faces you but the remedy is entirely in your hands.

You have only to adopt the right mental attitude and to view things in the correct perspective. Forget everything else. Hold fast to the idea of one nation deriving its inspiration from a common faith and a common ideology. It lifts you to a nobler plane of existence and evokes higher impulses of thought and action.

I have now to mention some aspects of Quaid-i-Azam's leadership and what lessons we can learn from it. The enormity of his success and achievement is apt to create the impression that there was something mystical about Quaid-i-Azam's life and character. There was none. His was an intensely human personality. He used human resources, human qualities and human means to achieve his ideals.

By patient cultivation of his talents and energies by sheer dint of industry and determination, he rose to the highest rungs of the ladder both in his profession and in public life.

He depended on nothing but his faith and his efforts. Before preaching to others he disciplined his own mind and emotions and developed the quality of self-restraint. His outstanding achievement was his own character which rested on clean living, honest thinking, incorruptible integrity. Passion for selfless service. unwavering attachment to moral ends and ethical principles, irrespective of mundane considerations.

It was this character which gave him the strength and force that accounted for his triumphs in the face of stupendous difficulties and obstacles. Whatever he as a leader lacked in the way of material resources was made up for by the moral strength that comes from faith and character. His example thus is a precious legacy to the younger generation of Pakistanis. It is for them to take inspiration from Quaid-i-Azam's life and character, which is like an open book or a transparent mirror. There is no difficulty you cannot overcome, there is no problem you cannot solve provided you develop character and act with faith, honesty and determination. Quaid-i-Azam, while he was waging the great struggle for Pakistan, taught us to be self-confident and self-reliant.

When we followed his exhortation, we became a force which achieved its objective in the face of two of the most formidable opponents. If we are surrounded by dangers today, we can save ourselves by recapturing the same spirit of self-confidence and self-reliance.

REFUGEE PROBLEMS

The refugee problem still remains unsolved after 11 long years have elapsed. During this long period of time the refugees have gone through

agony and misery. Every new years brought in heavy rains, the scorching heat of summer and the biting cold of the winter coupled with their seasonal epidemic diseases, and took heavy toll of their lives. Every year new promises were made to mitigate and remove their sufferings but the brute fact remains that nothing tangible was ever done in the practical field to ameliorate their condition. It is an intensely human problem and a challenge to the nation's self-respect.

So long as this problem is not effectively solved it will be a dead-weight and the country will never progress and prosper. I hope that now no further delay will be allowed to occur in the resettlement of the refugees and they will be in a position to throw their full weight into the building up of this country into a prosperous and stable State worthy of its traditions and status.

Pandit Nehru has been airing his views about the recent events in Pakistan and alleging that democracy has been destroyed in this country. Such criticism comes with ill grace from the leader of the country which has for centuries treated 60 millions of people as untouchables and social pariahs. Those who raise an accusing finger against Pakistan had better look to their own exploits in denying human freedom, and right of self-determination to the oppressed peoples of Kashmir.

Before I conclude, I would like to tell you that there is no reason to be unduly perturbed regarding any aspect of your national life what you are passing through are what may be described as teething pains of national evolution. Other countries have passed through similar experiences or even greater sufferings before attaining their constitutional, political and economic stability. If you eschew the social evils which marred your national life and if you develop the right national outlook, you are sure to evolve your own democratic polity which will truly reflect your genius and ideology. The need of the hour is faith, hardwork, willingness to put up with inconveniences and practise austerity so that out of our common efforts and sacrifices will emerge an era of progress, prosperity and happiness. Quaid-i-Azam wanted you to be a nation of self-respecting, honest, industrious and strong individuals. You cannot but come up to his expectations. Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

107. SPEECH AT POLYTECHNIC, KARACHI, 1959

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah at the Annual Students Day function of the Polytechnic Institute, Karachi in March, 1959.

(Editor)

"It is our good fortune that nature in her beneficence has richiy endowed our country with latent resources which only await the investigation of the scientist and the skilled labour of the technicians to yield their benefits for the prosperity of the people.

In Pakistan industrial plants were set up rapidly and hurriedly, but unfortunately we did not realise that technicians will be needed to run these factories. However I am glad that the Karachi Polytechnic Institute, which is the largest in Asia will fill this need and thus greately promote production in various industrial fields. As you say, the wealth of the nation entirely depends on its industry and the 'know how' of its technical personnel.

Therefore, yours is a very important profession and the role you have to play in the economic prosperity of the country will be of no mean import. I would, therefore, like you to make the best use of the opportunities provided for your training here, which will enable you to make your full contribution both to your own benefit and the benefit of the country.

There are no doubt many difficulties before us, but remember the life of a human being is a struggle and the life of a nation even a gregter struggle. The movement of Pakistan was also such a struggle, which through persistence and perseverance ultimately led us to success under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

This should be an inspiring lesson to the nation and you must train yourself not to run away from the difficulties of life but to grapple them with courage.

The splendours of the past with their emphasis on Islamic traditional patterns owe their origin—nay their very existence to the skill and ingenuity of the local craftsmen and the work of the ordinary labour, who has inherited his skill from his forefather. Therefore we must not always turn our eyes towards others but turn them inward and rediscover our cultural heritage and our intrinsic skills and utilize them for the greater glory of the nation."

108. SPEECH AT INAUGURATION OF A LIBRARY

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered this speech while she was inaugurating the East Pakistan Mehfil Library, Federal Area, Karachi in March, 1959.

(Editor)

"I thank the East Pakistan Mehfil for their kind invitation to inaugurate their Library. In opening this centre you have rendered a great service to others by affording facilities to them where they can come and benefit and acquire knowledge. I must congratulate you for this achievement of yours.

Library movement should be propagated in our country to focus the attention of the nation on the imperative necessity of developing library science as a vitalising force for the spiritual, social, economic and political advancement of the masses. Libraries play a very important role which is second to none in the modern world.

Libraries should not be mere collection of books, methodically arranged in shelves but should be a means to keep the people abreast of the modern trends in all walks of life. The country cannot fulfil its high destiny unless the masses are educated on right lines. The right type of education can only be imparted by giving full impetus to the Library movement in the country which will impart knowledge of our own art, history, culture and civilisation.

Any movement of mass literacy in the country cannot achieve lasting results unless the Library Science is given its proper place in the national life of a country. Literacy in the modern world means to be intelligent enough to understand the currents and cross-currents generated by progressive ideas. Naturally this cannot be achieved without due importance being given to the Library movement."

109. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1959

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the eve of Eid-ul-Fitr in April, 1959.

(Editor)

"It is not individual career alone but the part you can play in the development and expansion of national life that must claim your attention.

The holy month of Ramazan of forbearance and self-denial is now over. With the termination of fasting, the Muslims of Pakistan will today celebrate Eid. On this happy day I send my greetings to the people of Pakistan and Muslims all over the world. Lailat-ul-Qadr which precedes this great festival saw the emergence of Pakistan 12 years ago.

We are still on the look out for new avenues to build up our State according to our own ideals and requirements. This is a very important stage in the life of a nation because it is in the early stages of a country's life that whatever is formulated will ensure its future progress.

At present there are various paths persuading us to tread; each one leads to a different end; each has its own idealism and ideologies. It is the duty of the people to try to create a society which conscious of the supremacy of Islamic principles, may devotedly work for them.

Pakistan of Quaid-i-Azam's dream is yet to be realised. His fight for Pakistan did not have as its objective the acquisition of a mere piece of a territory. His vision of Pakistan was a society based on solid foundations of social justice with emphasis on equality and brotherhood of man.

SOCIAL ORDER

He visualized a social and economic order in which want, distress and injustice would stand eliminated. Where every man would have equality of opportunity and enjoyed the fruit of his labour and the creative impulses of the people would have found the freest scope in its expression and achievement in the moral, spiritual, cultural and material spheres.

In all your endeavour to train, equip and qualify yourself, you have to keep in view the wider perspective of the life of a free and independent

people. It is not individual career alone but the part you can play in the development and expansion of national life that must claim your attention.

Thus, with an enlarged mental horizon you have to approach and fulfil your task. If you pass from the individual to the collective from the material to the transcendental you will feel all your thoughts and actions ennobled and your energies sublimated to a higher plane.

This will be an inspiring and soul-stirring experience which is not something mystical but well within the grasp of everyone of you."

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110. MESSAGE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1959

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the nation on the eve of Independence Day, in August, 1959.

(*Editor*)

"The 14th of August is a memorable day in the history of our country-the twelfth anniversary of our Independence—the day which saw the birth of Pakistan as an independent sovereign State. It is a day of great significance when the people in every city, town, and hamlet will be rejoicing. It will revive the memory of our struggle and the ultimate achievement of freedom and having had the proud privilege to witness such a tremendous change which marked the successful culmination of our two-hundred-year struggle for emancipation from the domination of two alien forces. For us in Pakistan the 14th of August has more than the usual significance of a National Day, because it represents not merely the physical emancipation of a people but the triumph of an ideal.

We based our claim to freedom and independence on the proposition that we are a nation deriving its unity and solidarity from faith in a common ideology and way of life. In this we struck a new and revolutionary line contrary to the stereotyped notion of territorial nationalism. The genuineness and potency of the ideal we upheld enabled us to win the ideological battle against the heaviest odds.

When twelve years ago Quaid-i-Azam unfurled the Pakistan flag on the soil of Karachi—the scene of his crowning glory—the people of Pakistan experienced the joyful consciousness that at last their shackles and fetters had been broken and the way to the realisation of their cherished aspirations was thrown open. This flag is a symbol embodying the spirit of the people of Pakistan. It is not merely a piece of cloth of which it is made, but it is an emblem of our willing sacrifices and suffering for the attainment of Pakistan. It is an embodiment of our hopes and aspirations ; it is the manifestation of our determination to sacrifice everything for the call of our land, it is indeed the sign of our honour. On this day there came into existence not merely a government but a great State and a great nation, one supplementing the other.

LIMITLESS POSSIBILITIES

Your mind's eye has to pierce through the horizons to see the limitless

possibilities of our State and our nation. You will then in Quaid-i-Azam's words "realise the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which on one hand constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilites of evolving an ideal social structure". It is because this day is a reminder to us of the fundamental ideals which inspired our struggle for freedom and constitute to sustain our faith in our future destiny that it possesses a significance and importance. This is the day on which Pakistan came on the map of the world.

We owe it to our historical heritage, to the memory of our great Leader and of those millions of our brethern who sacrificed their all in the struggle for Pakistan, that we should hold fast to our cherished ideals. Whether we have any ostentatious celebrations or not, the important thing is that we do some honest heart-searching on this memorable day and renew our resolve to work ceaselessly for the attainment of Pakistan's destiny. If I ask you for a moment to cast a glance at the spirit and atmosphere that prevailed at the inception of Pakistan it is only because I want you to recapture something of that spirit and that faith.

Freedom is a tender plant ; it needs careful nursing and constant vigilance. You have always to keep before your mind's eye the ideal and objective for which Pakistan came into being. Let us not forget that the movement for Pakistan was the outcome of the democratic urge of a determined people With this historical background Pakistan can attain her destiny, for the soul of man yearns for free expression and fulfilment for which material benefits alone can be no substitute".

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111. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1959

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the nation on the occasion of the Quaid-i-Azam's death anniversary in September, 1959.

(*Editor*)

"Today on the 11th anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam's death, my mind goes back to the time when he successfully led the nation to its goal of a soveriegn independent State. He symbolised in himself the hopes and aspirations of a 100 million people. They put their whole-hearted trust in him and he had full faith in them. Both justified each other's trust. That was the secret of the incredible strength and force with which he fought and won the battle of freedom for a downtrodden people in the teeth of the fiercest opposition. History furnishes but few examples of such close indentification of the genesis and structure of a country with the life and thoughts of its founder, as is the case with Pakistan and the Quaid-i-Azam.

SHEET-ANCHOR

Even though more than a decade has elapsed since his physical departure from our midst, he still remains the sheet-anchor of Pakistan. His deeds and his words continue to be a source of perennial inspiration to the people in moments both of joy and sorrow. He shook them from their deep slumber, organised and galvanised them with a new life and enthusiasm, brought them under one flag and one platform, under his leadership, and put a new life into the people and gave them the goal of Pkistan, something to live and die for. He showed the world that when once a Musalman is awake and makes up his mind, no power can keep him away from attaining his object.

STOOD FOR IDEOLOGY

As you know, the Quaid-i-Azam stood for an ideology. He fought not merely for acquisition of a piece of territory, but for freedom for his people to translate into practice that ideology in their homeland.

So long as there is a flicker of that spirit which the Quaid-i-Azam kindled in our hearts, so long as our faith in the ideals he inculcated remains undimmed, even though our steps falter, the spirit and teachings of the Quaid-i-Azam will survive and therefore we have no cause to give into despair.

In spite of all the vicissitudes we have passed through and all the jolts we have experienced, I am convinced the gaze of the people remains fixed on the destiny which the Quaid-i-Azam visualised for them.

He envisioned Pakistan as a democratic State, wherein the ideals of social justice, equality, brotherhood, common weal, orderly and harmonious progress, peace and tranquillity are realised, a State wherein every citizen is assured of freedom of faith, speech, and association, and freedom from want and fear.

The Quaid-i-Azam declared in one of his speeches," It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear, but secure liberty, fraternity and equality as enjoined upon us by Islam " With the creation of Pakistan he felt that the soul of the nation has been freed from its shackles, because he urged that, "Now that the soul is free to exist and to inspire, it must arrest itself galvanising not only the State, but also the nation."

The Quaid-i-Azam was quite clear in his mind that there is only one path that Pakistan could follow and that is the path of democracy. He exhorted us as follow, "Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations".

Again, addressing a regiment of the Pakistan Army on the 21st of February, 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam observed, "Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice, and the equality of manhood in your own native soil".

SOURCE OF INSPIRATION

Though our hearts are laden with sorrow and grief on this day, the Quaid-i-Azam has left us such a shining example of achievement by sheer dint of character and selfless service that it can always serve as an unfailing source of inspiration.

His leadership was unique in several respects. He was not the leader who swims with the current or trims his sail to suit every wind. He never yielded to force of circumstances or political expediency ; he over-rode events and created his circumstances. He turned the course of history by founding, in the teeth of fiercest opposition, a State on ideological basis.

How did he do it? There is no secret about it. His unparalleled success is attributable to his unwavering faith in his mission and in the destiny of his people, his belief in the subordination of all mundane considerations to moral ends and ethical values, his uncompromising stand on well-defined priniciples and ideals, his unfaltering determination to fight for noble ends with clean weapons, his uttermost regard for the people's well-being and progress and none for personal interest. He proved by his deeds that truth and justice, if sincerely pursued, bring success and glory even in the sceptical days of today.

NOBLE ENDS

Quaid-i-Azam's place in history and in the hearts of the people is imperishable. He worked for noble ends and not for personal aggrandizement. He won the confidence of the people through selfless service and relied on their support and not on tall slogans. Pakistan will remain a living monument to his memory. Let us on this solemn occasion re-dedicate ourselves to the sacred task of building up Pakistan on the ideals inculcated by the Quaid-i-Azam so that we march towards the path of peace, progress and prosperity.

Remember that the light which leads to one's destiny, emanates from the flame within one's soul ; it cannot be borrowed from any extraneous source. This light will save you from errors and pitfalls and help you develop the spirit of self-confidence and self-effort.

Your present difficulties need not depress you. It is a passing phase. You have no reason to underestimate your own potentialities There is no field of activity in which you cannot attain heights of success by patient industry and sustained effort. If you have to take something from outside to develop your resources, you have also much to give towards the peace and progress of the world.

FOUNDATION STRONG

You should never forget the difficulties and obstacles the Quaid-i-Azam had to face in the achievement, and later on in laying the foundations of Pakistan so that it may live for ever, and by the grace of God the foundation is so strong that it has stood the mightiest avalanche, and no power on earth has been able to shake it, and Insha Allah it will live for ever. He was successful in both, but at the cost of his life.

The Quaid-i-Azam lived so that Pakistan may come into being. He died so that Pakistan may live. Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad".

112. SPEECH AT SIND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' UNION, 1959

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech while inaugurating the Sind University Students Union, in November, 1959.

(Editor)

"I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to address your Union. Your University is as young as Pakistan. This occasion reminds me of the time when early in 1947 the Sind University was established. It was under the personal guidance of Quaid-i-Azam that after great opposition this Bill was ultimately passed. It was a great achievement and I had the privilege to be present at the Assembly and hear this debate.

Let me tell you that your life in the University constitutes a happy and fortunate period, especially because more opportunities are available to you than to your predecessors in pre-Independence days. Your one great advantage is that you are the citizens of a free and independent country. Your sensitive minds cannot remain impervious to the conditions around you, especially when you see vast number of your countrymen in the throes of social and economic hardships

As youths you are blessed with generous emotions and you undoubtedly feel the urge to step forward and do your bit to solve the problems. But this is the formative period of your life and you have to be on your guard, lest you are misled into channels where your energies are frittered away.

In the life of a University the Union holds a pivotal position. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Union is not only a forum for debate and discussion where you learn the art of public speaking ; it is or it should be a centre which should bring together youth with different ideas, tastes and aptitudes and enables them to rub their shoulders and exchange ideas with one another, evolve healthy traditions and develop common outlook, loyalty and sympathy.

It stimulates their talents and faculties and releases their energies along healthy channels. I sincerely hope your Union is developing along these lines and you are making the best use of the opportunities offered by it.

STRONG CHARACTER

This is the time when you can equip and qualify yourself and develop a strong character and an integrated personality, which will accept every challenge and not yield to any demoralising forces. You cannot afford to pursue knowledge for the sake of knowledge, which is an outmoded theory.

Knowledge to be worthwhile should have a living link with the life around you. It can be a vitalising factor if you develop a keen perception and awareness of the problems facing the society of which you are a part. To be a student is a privilege, which the society offers you. To be worthy of this privilege you must develop a keen, sensitive mind and a warm sympathy which would reach instinctively to every ill that afflicts the society.

Your approach to the problems, however, has to be thoughtful and scientific. After attainment of Independence the entire context of conditions surrounding your life has changed There is no room for lethargy or indifference on the part of the people, particularly the young intelligentsia.

You no longer live in a static society, where all you had to do was to equip yourself with a few outward accomplishments which would keep you in the forefront of an inert society.

The tempo of life is now fast. People are demanding a reappraisal of the decandent social and economic patterns which have had the effect of retarding their progress and prosperity. Our Universities have to play an important part in this behalf. Their role has to be different from what it was in pre-Independence days.

The system of education should be so designed as to produce men with powers of original and free thinking, initiative, judgment, selflessness, and missionary zeal to promote national good. with the attainment of freedom the whole concept and purpose of education must undergo a radical change.

NATIONAL IDEOLOGY

In the first instance, your education must be closely related to national ideology, culture and aspirations. It must equip and prepare you to perform, with energy and efficiency, every task in the service of the nation and the State. It must bring about a psychological change, a change of outlook.

In whatever capacity you may be called upon to work, whether as a Minister or an administrator, a technician or a physician, a soldier or a businessman, you have to conduct yourself as one who wishes to serve the people from an inner urge and not to rule or dominate over them.

With the end of political servitude, the servile attitude of mind also must go. It is as much a sign of mental servility to accept and imitate everything that bears the stamp of the West and of modernity, as to stick to everything coming from the past and sanctified by tradition.

Ideas, values and modes have to be tested and assessed in the light of your knowledge and the fundamentals of your faith. Education does not consist in burdening your mind with a dead weight of inert and lifeless ideas and facts and figures. It is rather a process which must stimulate your power of thinking and your latent faculties and energies.

It is a process which must help mould your character and equip you with moral qualities like integrity, selflessness, courage, fellowfeeling, sympathy and willingness to put the nation's good above personal interest. In the new environment that surrounds yon there is no room for any form of snobbery or aloofness. You must be ready and willing to identify yourself with the broad stream of national life. Believe me, there is nothing more soul-satisfying and more honourable than to use all your talents, accomplishments and energies towards promoting the good of the people of which you are a part.

NATIONAL LIFE

It is not individual concern alone but the part you can play in the development and expansion of national life that must claim your attention. Thus with an enlarged mental horizon you have to approach and perform your task If you pass from individual to the collective, from material to the transcendental, you will feel all your thoughts and actions ennobled and your energies sublimated to the higher plane.

This will be an inspiring and soulstirring experience which is not something mystical but well within the grasp of every one of you.

Remember, Pakistan itself was the creation of faith and determination, and by faith and determination alone you can build and develop it into the state of your dreams. You have passed through various vicissitudes and have made great sacrifices to achieve your objective. Continue to march towards the destiny of your dream with the same faith and courage. All you

need is to have faith in your destiny and create your own inherent strength.

In Iqbal's words. "The flame of life cannot be borrowed from others; it must be kindled in the temple of one's own soul." You are now on the threshold of a new but real life, where you will come in contact with hard realities. Quaid-i-Azam has left behind a young country and a dynamic youth. Remember, you are the backbone of your country. You are the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of a great and mighty State that Quaid-i-Azam visualised. I want you to live up to his expectation".

113. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1959

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday in December, 1959.

(*Editor*)

On this auspicious occasion of the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday, our thoughts inevitably turn to the father of the nation, who, by his lifelong and heroic struggle, won for us national freedom, than which there is no greater blessing. He was chosen by God as the instrument for the fulfilment of the mission of saving the flame of Islam from extinction in this subcontinent and of providing the Muslims with a haven where they can live according to their ideology, as a free, independent sovereign nation.

Happily we are living in an age in which a glorious history has been made. Because of our proximity to the events, we may not be able to guage their magnitude adequately. Our posterity and particularly the generations to come will be able to oppreciate fully the unforgettable events that have revolutionised not only the history of the sub-continent, but have laid down the foundation of a great Islamic renaissance which is bound to help the Muslim World to rediscover itself. Quaid-i-Azam is the Architect and Founder of this new revolution.

During this century some of us have witnessed two World Wars and have gone through various stages and vicissitudes of historic events, such as breaking up of empires and the emergence of free independent States. Few in 1920 would have been able to prophesy the march of events. Bundled together with the ocean of numerically large population, the Muslims mattered only for the purpose of giving a few doles, safeguards, and petty jobs. The hundred million Musalmans of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, therefore, collected together at Lucknow in 1937, with the Quaid-i-Azam as their leader, to pronounce to the world our unflinching resolve, culminating in the famous Lahore Resolution of 1940, to achieve Pakistan. Friends showed sympathy and enemies laughed to see Musalmans clamouring for what they called the nightmare of Pakistan.

LASTING MONUMENT

The Quaid-i-Azam believed in the righteousness of his cause and he gave

up all his comforts and worked day and night for the achievement of his object. He was rewarded for his labours in being able to witness the birth of Pakistan—his lasting monument. Thus our country Pakistan, the largest Muslim State, was brought on the map of the world under the dynamic leadership of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

When the Muslims of this sub-continent were fighting for their right of self-determination under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, they had nothing of the wherewithal with which a war or even a political battle is fought. All they had was faith in a certain ideal and the willingness and discipline to suffer for that ideal. This brought out their latent moral strength, which developed into a force, which the mightiest powers could not put down. Believe me, all great objects in history have been achieved through pursuit of moral values and with the weapon of moral strength. The moment you lose sight of moral values you fall into the abyss of decay and degradation.

Today, you find the world torn between conflicts—conflict of man with man, nation with nation, body and soul, matter and spirit. Man goes on acquiring mastery over forces of nature, over speed and technology, but he has not been able to master the turmoil within his own-self—the conflict of body and soul. In your own country you are confronted with conflicts at every turn—in your homes, in the neighbourhood, between the different sections of the people, in the economic and other spheres. If you take your lesson from the life and teachings of the Quaid-i-Azam, you can play a significant part in resolving the conflicts which mar your national life.

In the end I would like you to hold the strings from where Quaid-i-Azam left and build up Pakistan. It must be your firm belief that Pakistan has a great future as a nation. So let us do the task, civilian and soldier, worker and peasant, student and teacher, businessman, doctor, and judge, every one to his post. Let each one of you do his duty boldly, honestly, and truthfully, and we shall have soon realised the great ideals that had inspired us and inspire us today."

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114. SPEECH AT NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION, 1960

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the Annual Conference of the National Tuberculosis Association at Karachi in February, 1960.

(Editor)

"I am glad to be here this afternoon to address this gathering and inaugurate the first annual meeting of the Council of National Tuberculosis Association of Pakistan. It gives me great satisfaction to note that from a very humble start made in Lahore four years ago by Dr. Riaz Ali Shah with the help of a handful of T.B. patients the movement has grown into a full-fledged National T.B. Association of Pakistan.

Tuberculosis, undoubtedly the greatest health problem confronting Pakistan, is undermining the health and wealth of our nation to a most dangerous extent. No one is safe from its long tentacles. The National Tuberculosis Association, I am glad to see, is making great effort against innumerable difficulties and handicaps in this noble cause. The workers of this Association have successfully launched a drive to remove all obstacles and difficulties by educating the people about this dreadful white scourge.

Let us dive deep into depths of dungeons and find out the sorrow and pain and gauge the dimensions of misery and depression under which a large number of our people are living. It is our duty to save our coming generations from tuberculosis by fighting filth, squalour, poverty, insanitary condition, malnutrition, over-crowding, economic insecurity and total lack of modern public health facilities for prevention and treatment of tuberculosis.

Remember that a healthy man is an asset to the nation whereas a sick man is a burden. Today a large number of people are susceptible to this fatal disease because of their inability to afford nutrition food, warm clothes and medical relief. I have said previously and I emphasise once again that equal importance should be given to the preventive side of the problem so that the disease may not go on spreading further. Your organisation should launch both curative and preventive drives; thus you will be able to eradicate the disease from our soil.

QUALIFIED DOCTORS

I am proud to say that in Pakistan we have highly qualified doctors who

are second to none. All you need is to reorganise and co-ordinate the work in such a way that the maximum results are achieved in the shortest possible time. All specific measures against public health problems like tuberculosis must be a link in the chain of general public health protection, education, economic uplift, urban and rural planning and other related measures for raising the sanitary and economic standards of the community. Thus, and thus only, can the enemy be defeated. However, any measure you may decide upon should suit our local requirements.

Another thing I want to draw your attention to, is that there are many valuable herbs found in Pakistan which might be very effective. Research institutions should be established which should explore the possibilities of the discovery of a drug which will benefit the people not only in Pakistan but the world over.

DIFFICULT TASK

Your Association has done a great deal of work in combating this disease but there is much to be done yet. Yours will be a difficult task and you will face many difficulties but you must continue your work with the same zeal till you succeed. We can only achieve this by making the campaign against tuberculosis a national war. We can do so through the co-operation and co-ordinated action of the public as well as private health, welfare and civic organisations.

Let every one, rich or poor, young or old, man or woman, wage a planned war against the white scourge. Let us not rest till we have eradicated this menace from our beloved country. May God help you to succeed in your mission."

115. SPEECH AT S. M. LAW COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1960

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech on the eve of the annual function of the students of the Public Speaking Class of S. M. Law College, Karachi in February, 1960.

(Editor)

"I thank you for inviting me to address the Public Speaking Class of students and to give away prizes to the winners of the competition.

I am glad to see that for the first time since the establishment of Pakistan, members and students of Law College have realised the necessity and have opened a Public Speaking Class. Public speaking is an art which can be developed. Therefore, this will provide an opportunity for you to develop this art. Public speaking, apart from bringing into close touch individuals and society, also stimulates talents and faculties and releases their energies along healthy channels. I sincerely hope you will make the best use of the opportunities provided.

Being invited by the Law College I would like to take this opportunity to touch the subject on the faculty of law of which you are the students.

Administration of justice is one of the primary and fundamental functions of any State. It has been well recognised that separation of judiciary from the executive is almost essential—nay, it is a prerequisite for the free and unfettered administration of justice. The process of obtaining justice must also be quick, as far as possible, because justice delayed is justice denied. Yours is a profession in which you can play an important role in alleviating the sufferings of those who are in need of your advice.

It is mainly from your midst that statesmen and politicians have been born and it will continue to do so. The best service you can render is to ensure the highest standards of integrity, efficiency and devotion to individual and national good.

OBJECTIVE OF PAKISTAN

Throughout his life, Quaid-i-Azam stood for liberty and rule of law. He consistently fought against curtailment of liberties. He defined the objective of Pakistan State as follows:

"It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear of all types but

secure liberty, fraternity and equality as enjoined upon us by Islam. It has been the glory of Muslim history that utmost respect has been shown to the sanctity of law and judiciary has always occupied an honoured and independent status.

Quaid-i-Azam turned the course of history by founding in the teeth of fierce opposition, a State on ideological basis and achieved his objective through constitutional means.

On your shoulders devolves the great responsibility. Yours is not merely a career to earn your living or alleviating the sufferings by giving legal advice, but the most important thing for you is to equip and qualify yourself, develop strong character and personality that will accept every challenge but not yield to any demoralising forces. You will have to preserve justice and integrity. Therefore, you must learn to have a keen perception and awareness of the problems facing the society of which you are the member."

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116. SPEECH AT JINNAH COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1960

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah at the installation ceremony of the Jinnah College Science Union at Karachi in February, 1960.

(Editor)

"I thank you for the honour you have done in inviting me to the installation ceremony of the Jinnah College Science Union.

Your College, situated in beautiful surroundings and having large grounds has great future indeed. Although recently established, I am glad to see, it is making progress in the way of new construction of building and in general all round. I hope you will continue the work till you achieve all requirements.

Our education before partition was not to create free independent mentality within independent State. After the establishment of Pakistan our life has taken a rebirth and we should equip and mould ourselves according to new requirements Do not forget that we are possessors of a great cultural heritage.

FAULTY SYSTEM

It is not due to innate inferiority: it is due to faulty system of education which tends to impair the healthy spirits of human energy, soundness of judgment and to produce selfishness and deficient sense of national service and solidarity. Much stress is laid on knowledge for its own sake and physical development, building of character and the power of determination are altogether neglected. Youth appears to have quenched his thirst with crystal clear water from which health giving ingredients have been unconsciously removed. Education of this sort should have no place in an independent country.

It is our good fortune that nature in her beneficence has endowed our country with latent resources embedded in earth which only awaits the investigation of scientists and skilled labour of the technicians to yield their benefits for the prosperity of the people. There are vast deposits of various minerals and metals in different parts of the country which have to be exploited to the advantage of the common man. Their

potentiality for the overall economic development of the country is immeasurable. Therefore, you the science students, should turn to new avenues which are necessarily for the development of our various industries.

Ours is a new country not fully developed. During last 12 years, no doubt, our country has made good progress towards industrialisation in spite of many handicaps, but much remains to be done.

The present generation must turn their attention towards the latent resources and work hard and make sacrifices so that they may have the satisfaction that the posterity will benefit. The need of the hour is to do every thing whereby you can have more and more production.

You have before you the inspiring examples in the glorious period of Islamic history who devoted themselves to the study, observation, investigation of natural resources and made unique contribution. In order to achieve some distinction in your line, as in any other scientific pursuit, you will have to keep yourself abreast with the latest and day today progress being made abroad. It is just possible that one disappointment after another may fall to your lot and you may have to work hoping when there is not a ray of hope But perseverance coupled with the mastery of your subject and its proper application will finally pay you the dividend and what seemed impossible a moment ago will suddenly become possible.

I wish you all success in your study and I fervently hope that your knowledge and experience will always be employed towards the promotion of the development and prosperity of your country. We cannot hope for any progress and prosperity in future unless younger generation is trained and brought with the sense of legitimate pride in national culture and national attainments and passionate desire to serve the country and develop its resources so as to win for it a place of honour in the comity of nations.

With these words, I announce a contribution of Rs. 50,000 to Jinnah College."

117. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1960

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Eid-ul-Fitr in March, 1960.

(Editor)

"On the auspicious occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, I offer my hearty greetings to the Muslims of Pakistan and the Muslims all over the world. It is a day of thanksgiving and happiness at the successful performance of the duty assigned by God Almighty.

In its various aspects, fasting is treated as one of the five pillars of the code of life collectively known as Islam. Islam gave us the conception of the unity of God and the finality of prophethood—that the era of reason had dawned and it was the end of divine revelation.

It gave us Namaz to purify our souls, Roza to purify our body and Zakat to help purify the society. It gave us the institution of Haj and brotherhood of Islam and equality among men irrespective of their birth. It asked us to fear none but Allah and go forth to exploit the wealth that is under the seas and in the womb of the earth and in the wide of the over-surface in accordance with His will.

It was in the month of Ramazan that Pakistan came into being and as such today our thoughts are invariably linked with the hopes and aspirations that inspired us at its inception. Therefore, when we rejoice in feast and greet our brethren let us for a moment pause and reflect how far we have succeeded in translating the ideals and the spirit of Pakistan movement into a concrete living order of our society.

WHAT QUAID SAID

Let me today recall to you what Quaid-i-Azam said on a similar Eid Day. In the course of a broadcast talk in 1938, he said "The discipline of Ramazan fast and prayer will culminate today in an immortal meakness of heart before God. But it shall not be the meakness of a weak heart and they who would think so are doing wrong both to God and the Prophet for it is an outstanding paradox of all religions that the humble shall be the strong and it is of particular significance in the case of Islam, for

Islam, as you know, really means action. The discipline of Ramazan was designed by our Prophet to give us the necessary strength for action'.

I choose this occasion to draw your attention to bear upon these matters as we have just completed a routine of rigour and austerity directed towards self-purification. Those who fasted, denied unto themselves all; theirs was not the appetising morsel nor the refreshing drink. It was a month of trial, a test of fortitude and a lesson in discipline.

Just as without the right attitude the fact may become anything but a sublime experience so in our national life the need of a correct attitude, unity, faith and discipline to keep things on an even keel is essential. Islam from its inception gave us the message of equality, fairplay and justice. Islamic charter was proclaimed nearly 1400 years ago. The clarion call is still reverberating in our minds. Let us keenly listen to it.

Let each one of us do his duty boldly, honestly and truthfully and we shall have soon realised the great ideals that had inspired us and inspire us today."

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118. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1960

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha, in June, 1960.

(Editor)

"On this august occasion of Eid-ul-Azha, I offer my sincere greetings to the Muslims all over the world. This festival, unlike others, is, as a matter of fact, a reminder of the great sacrifice which Abraham made in the way of Allah. It symbolises the truth that a Muslim, celebrating this occasion has made himself more determined to sacrifice in the path of truth by all available means. Such occasions of self-determination for sacrifice suggest to us that righteousness could only prevail with a passionate desire of sacrifices.

Let us not forget that this beloved homeland of ours was achieved through immense sacrifices made by millions of Muslims—men and women, in the face of stupendous odds. Constitution is one of the first essentials on which our future progress is based.

WARNING

At present there are various paths persuading us to tread. Each one leads to a different end;each has its own idealisms and ideologies. Beware of the attempts to divert you from the sheet—anchor of your ideology and do not allow confusion to prevail. A Muslim is a dynamic force who asserts himself best in the worst crises, and whose magnitude and wonderful ability has preserved his existence through centuries decadence.

Regain your unity by following the path indicated by the Quaid-i-Azam. Work according to the principles inculcated by him and you will find that the obstacles in your path will be swept away like straws in the wind".

119. SPEECH AT ROTARY CLUB, 1960

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at the annual dinner of the Rotary Club, in July, 1960.

(Editor)

"I thank you for inviting me to be the chief guest at your annual dinner. This is for the third time that I have the opportunity of addressing you, a privilege which I deeply appreciate.

Yours is an organisation which professes noble ideal and promises to bring some light and relief to a world solely affected by forces of darkness. Your motto of service above self is not merely an abstract concept. It represents an attitude and an approach which can be applied to every aspect of life, individual and collective.

It contains the quintessence of wisdom in which lies the secret of true happiness. It is a principle, which, if allowed to permeate every day life and conduct, tends to alleviate every man, whatever his station in life, to a moral plane from which nothing but good emanates for himself and his fellow-men.

No doubt you as men of business and professions have set an admirable example of affording aid and succor to people in their distress through your benefactions and philanthropic works, but to my mind your motto of service above self calls for something deeper and more meaningful.

HABITUAL ATTITUDE

It calls for a habitual attitude which refuses to countenance, selfishness and iniquity in every shape and form and consistently follows a code of ethical values irrespective of material considerations. It is only when justice is ensured and a reasonable level of contentment and prosperity prevails, that stable society is created and it is only in stable society, free from grinding poverty and moral degradation that business and profession can thrive.

One of the evils of present time is the craze of get rich quick and every man for himself. This craze should have no place in a country like Pakistan which came into being as a result of an ethical urge. The

Muslims of this sub-continent through untold sacrifices carved out a separate State in order to have the opportunity of translating their social, cultural and spiritual ideal, into practice.

Pakistan came into being to fulfil an ethical objective, namely to demonstrate the efficacy of an ideology in the cause of peace and happiness.

NOT UTOPIAN

Your motto is not utopian, it is eminently practicable. It is your own determination which can make it an effective force in life. A moral convention freely accepted and practised is of greater consequence than even rules and regulations if you make it a point of honour to follow it.

You command respect and create goodwill which are more valuable assets than temporary gains. You have the opportunity to give a lead through your own conduct which would put fresh life and vitality into an inert and languishing society.

Before partition this part of the sub-continent was under-developed. Within the last 12 years of independence, the industrialists and businessmen have, no doubt, made tremendous progress towards industrialising the country and have contributed their share towards the building up of Pakistan.

But, I should like to draw your attention to one or two fields through which you can, by virtue of your advantageous position, render useful service,

Firstly, you can help create fresh avenues for employment by further industrialisation.

Secondly, you can assist in expanding educational facilities so that our young men may be trained in scientific and archaeological studies.

SOUND INVESTMENT

Money spent in this behalf is very sound investment for it directly helps in the training of a larger number of the young people who are urgently needed to run all the development projects of the country in the fields of industry, agriculture, power and social welfare.

The world is dangerously poised on the crest of what may be called a volcano of fierce passions of intolerance, hatred, violence and domination. There are conflicts of body and soul, profession and practice, matter and spirit. Forces of nature are being increasingly conquered but man has no control over his own ego and elemental passions.

It is crisis of spirit. It is clear beyond doubt that material conquest and possessions alone are not going to bring peace and salvation to humanity. What is needed is a change of moral outlook, a re-valuation of values. All desire to exploit and dominate one another or to interfere with one another's way of living has to be eschewed.

Every group of people, however small or weak, must be accorded its right to self-determination and allowed its own way of life in peace and freedom. Economic exploitation has to yield place to economic co-operation.

In other words it may be said that the principles of service above self must extend from the domain of individual life to the international sphere. Unless nations like individuals learn to conduct themselves in the spirit of service, toleration and co-operation, there is no future for humanity".

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120. MESSAGE ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1960

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah to the nation on the eve of Independence Day in August, 1960.

(Editor)

"Today is the thirteenth anniversary of the most auspicious day in our national life—the day on which we emerged as an independent member of the comity of nations. The significance of the event should not be lost sight of. It was not only a government that came into existence ; it marked the birth of a nation and a State. When a society finds its ideals and values jeopardised in an inimical environment, it strives to free itself from that cramping influence. Its emergence as an independent entity is the culmination of an ideological and cultural struggle. This exactly has been the experience of the Muslim society in this sub-continent. The soul of this society was threatened with annihilation by forces opposed to the ideals of social justice, equality, and fraternity. However, Quaid-i-Azam, with his single—minded devotion, and undaunted, defied geography and created history, when Pakistan was established in 1947, crowning his efforts with success. It is now free to assert itself and galvanise both the nation and the State.

CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY

The creation of Pakistan is, thus, both a challenge and an opportunity. It is a challenge because it casts on us a responsibility to prove by our constructive endeavours our title to live and develop as a nation unified by community of thought and life out-look. It is an opportunity, for we have a clear field to translate into practice our cherished notions of an ideal social and economic structure. Such an ideal must evoke your noblest impulses and energies along purposeful and creative channels.

BURNING FAITH

There is no doubt that Pakistan started its career as an independent nation, under most unpropitious circumstances and crippling handicaps. What is it that enabled you to survive the stupendous difficulties under which even well-established States might have reeled and straggered? It was

faith in your destiny and unity of purpose you have to recreate the same burning faith and the same will to surmount your difficulties. History proves that danger and adversity can test but can never break the spirit of a Musalman. In fact, his best talents come into play only in moment of trial and tribulation.

The world is entering the Age of space conquest. There is no room for those who are infected by lethargy and lassitude. You have to achieve in months what others achieved in years. If your gaze is clearly fixed on your goal, nothing will deter you from marching with sure and rapid steps on the road to progress and prosperity. Develop your inherent strength by holding fast to your own moral and spiritual values. Ceaseless action supported by unwavering faith should be your motto It helped you achieve emancipation from the yoke of two mighty forces ; it will again help you in the grimmer struggle of winning economic stability for the country and protecting it from threats to its security.

Eighty million people of Pakistan have nothing to fear. You have a history which is replete with instances of noble deeds of service and sacrifice in worthy cause and of glorious achievements in all fields of human endeavour. You have all the qualities which go to make a great nation. Through faith, unity, and discipline there is no obstacle you cannot overcome and no height you cannot attain. May the remembrance of this auspicious day lead you to greater success, progress and prosperity."

121 SPEECH AT KARACHI ATHLETIC CLUB, 1960

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech on the occasion of the prize distribution of Karachi Athletic Club in September, 1960.

(Editor)

"I am glad to be here this afternoon to distribute the prizes and certificates of the Karachi Athletic Club.

Among several human activities that help a man to build up a successful life, sport is certainly one of the most important. Only a sound body can develop a sound mind. Highest sportsmanship does not go with merely winning the game, but you must play the game with its highest traditions. One may win or lose but he loses most who lacks the sportsman spirit. Strong determination and careful training of character alone can make a player a good sportsman which he ought to be above every thing else. Character occupies a most important place in human make-up.

The field where one plays the game opens avenues to show the highest virtues and their values against odds and handicaps. It enables one to bring out many qualities such as discipline, bravery, judgment and team spirit which are very essential for success in life.

I do hope that the youth will be provided with more and more facilities to fulfil their requirements in the field of sports.

The need of a stadium in Karachi is long felt, as it is very necessary for organising sports and games on proper lines. I hope this desire of the people will soon be fulfilled.

You must realise your immense responsibilities. As free men you must develop a life of high human values and virtues, for that alone will make you worthy and ensure a brilliant future. On the shoulders of youth, devolves the onerous task of building of a nation. Your unbounded enthusiasm and your efforts are always priceless possessions of which a nation can boast. Future of the nation is always in the hands of the youth and you have to play your part to shape the destiny and future of our land. You are the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of a great State that Quaid-i-Azam visualised and I want you to live up to his expectations.

I thank the organisers of the tournament for inviting me to this function and also for your address of welcome and wish you all success.

Finally I congratulate those who have won the prizes and I hope the losers will strive hard to do better next time."

122. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1960

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the occasion of 12th death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam in September, 1960.

(Editor)

"It is with a heavy heart I pick up my pen to address you today and join you on the 12th anniversary in commemoration of the memory of Quaid-i-Azam. His deep burning love for the nation has left a void. On this day your hearts no less than mine are filled with grief. I join you and pay my homage to his memory.

Perhaps sometime, we are apt to take our free national existence for granted and forget the tremendous efforts and sacrifices which preceded the dawn of freedom. Perhaps, also, there is not enough appreciation of the truth that freedom by itself is a gift which has to be prized above every other worldly possession. No people can realise their inner-self and use their potentialities without freedom and independence as a nation. It is only when we learn to appreciate the value of freedom as the most potent factor in the realisation of our destiny that we will understand the true significance of the historic role of the Quaid-i-Azam as the Creator of a State of which there is hardly any precedent in history.

OUTSTANDING FEATURE

When we think of Quaid-i-Azam's phenomenal success, the question that strikes is what was the most outstanding feature of his leadership. He was above all a great constitutionalist and a great respector of democratic principles. Throughout his career as leader of the freedom movement and as Head of Pakistan State, he conducted himself strictly according to constitutional propriety.

He did so because he realized that constitutionalism is a prime condition for the proper canalisation of a people's urges and energies towards a purposeful end. It gives meaning, balance and stability to a people's life. It creates in them the qualities of cooperation and organised effort without which there can be no orderly progress. It also helps to foster an attitude of mind which shows respect to law and keeps desires and ambitions under proper restraint.

Another feature of his leadership which would strike any observer is the Quaid-i-Azam's complete indentification with his people's sentiments,

wishes and aspirations. His trust in the people was genuine and whole-hearted, the people on their part gave him their support and loyalty in a measure which does not often fall to the lot of leaders. There was nothing supercilious in his attitude towards the people. His sincerity and genuine solicitude for their security and well-being evoked the warmest response from them. With their solid support and their willingness to make every sacrifice at his behest, he was able to throw the gauntlet to two mighty forces and wrest freedom from unwilling hands. Leadership, therefore, is not a mere matter of shrewdness or astute strategy; it should be grounded in moral and spiritual qualities which alone win lasting devotion and support.

HISTORY

The history of Pakistan begins from 1936 when the movement was launched by the Muslim League under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. It took him four years to prepare the ground and bring the Mussalmans of the sub-continent on one platform and under one flag. In 1940 the goal was declared which ultimately led to the establishment of Pakistan, of which every Pakistani is proud. That you continue to remember him with the same favour and love as you showed in his lifetime proves that in spite of all vicissitudes, your essential faith in the ideals and values he placed before you remains unshaken. Let me assure you that so long as this faith is alive no harm will really come to you or to Pakistan.

From his childhood, there were signs that he would be a man of destiny. His qualities of leadership were self-discipline, devotion to duty, strength of will and a certain sense of detachment from surrounding circumstances. Right from the beginning he seemed to be conscious of a high purpose and inspired by a vision and a passion for service he always adhered to the highest standards of rectitude and never allowed himself to be lured by prospects of success through dubious means. For him, the end did not justify the means. In his life long struggle against the forces of aggression and injustice chicanery and hypocrisy, he had temporary failures and disappointments but succeess was ultimately his.

He always fought with clean weapons. What sustained him throughout his life was an unwavering faith and the spiritual strength borne out of that faith—faith in God, faith in Islam and confidence in his ability to overcome difficulties. To those who doubt the ascendency of moral values over the mundane forces his life can be held out as an object lesson".

123. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S WELFARE INDUSTRIAL HOME, 1960

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Women's Welfare Industrial Home in September, 1960.

(*Editor*)

"This institution is training women to make Banarasi Sarees and silks. The object of the institution is to equip them with some kind of art which will be useful and valuable to them when they settle down in life, either in their own homes or as a means of earning their livelihood, if necessary.

History shows that Muslim women at the most critical time of the struggle for independence of this country had come forward and made great sacrifices for the achievement of freedom. In this short space of time women have made progress but there is yet a great deal to be done. In the cycle of events during the past 200 years we have suffered a great setback. Economically and educationally we are backward. These are really the two main pillars on which the foundation of the nation is built. Therefore I appeal to you to devote all your energy towards education and economic welfare of your State.

Remember it is women who can mould the character of the youth of the nation, the responsibility on your shoulder is great and you must be prepared and ready to discharge your duties efficiently and well. The glory of the future will depend upon the role you play in radiating your spirit of service in every department of life.

I congratulate the promoters of this institution and am glad to hear that you have overcome most of the initial difficulties. I have no doubt that if you continue in the same way you will meet with success."

124. SPEECH AT JINNAH COLLEGE, KARACHI, 1960

The following speech was delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah at Jinnah College, Karachi in November, 1960.

(*Editor*)

"I thank the Governing Body of the Jinnah College for the kind invitation and deem it a great pleasure and honour to perform the opening ceremony of your Science Block and lay the foundation-stone of the Technical Block.

Yours is an institution which is a remarkable example of voluntary effort and self-help. Starting from humble beginning your college has grown into a leading institution catering to the educational needs of a large number of the youth of Karachi. The sponsorers of this college deserve hearty congratulations for the success which has attended their zealous and sustained efforts. They have, by their example, shown that private effort can achieve by dint of faith and patient endeavour. It is an example which deserves to be emulated all over the country.

The provision of well-equipped science laboratories is a step in the right direction as it meets a vital need of the time. Too long have our people dissipated their time and energy in mere theoretical knowledge and impractical pursuit under a defective system of education. It is high time that they turned their attention more to scientific studies and other subjects of practical value. It is the age of science, the age of conquest of space and time and of the forces of nature. Any nation which neglects or lags behind in these studies does so at its own peril. It will be left behind in the march of progress and prosperity and will not have a respectable place in the comity of nations.

DISCIPLINE OF MIND

The study of science is not merely acquisition of knowledge of certain facts and phenomena; it is a discipline and an attitude of the mind. The scientific training enables one to observe, to think rationally, to deduce right conclusions from observed phenomena, remaining free from preconceptions and prejudices. It instils in you an objective approach to problems. If you imbibe the scientific spirit and approach you cannot only order your own

life on sound foundations but also make a significant contribution to the evolution of national life on right lines. What the country needs is freedom from confusion and obscurantism and clear constructive thinking coupled with a practical approach to problems. It needs an army of young, scientifically trained workers imbued with the spirit of sustained and constructive endeavour to national good.

Remember, the opportunities for scientific education now opening out before you are a privilege which the country offers you in the hope that after completion of your training you will not think merely of building up a personal career but play a worthy part in the development of the country's resources and its economic life for the benefit of all its people. That is the right spirit and purpose of all education and training.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF YOUTH

This brings me to the larger question of the role which you are expected to play in the national life of the country. As you know the Quaid-i-Azam had a special regard and affection for the youth of the nation. He had high expectations in them. Your college bears his name. You owe it to his memory that you conduct yourself in a manner so as to fulfil his expectations. You are on the threshold of cataclysmic changes in the world. Great opportunities and even greater responsibilities are going to fall on your lot.

It is only those who have a strong moral fibre and equip themselves with the fullest scientific knowledge and technical skill that you can face the mighty challenge of the time, You must have confidence in yourself and faith in your own ideology and sense of values. You must have the spirit of self-reliance and self-help. While ready to assimilate the best that modern science and learning have to offer you must hold fast to your own cultural and spiritual moorings which will undoubtedly help you steer safely through the storms of rapidly changing world.

As the rising generation, you have a grand opportunity to show your mettle as architects of a national edifice which combines the best elements of the wisdom of the past with the skills of today. You can set an example of how scientific and technical knowledge can be combined with moral and spiritual values and harnessed to a peaceful and beneficent purpose, namely betterment of the lot of suffering humanity.

I would like to say a few words about the Technical Block of which you have asked me to lay the foundation-stone today. With the tremendous prospect of economic and industrial development before the country, technology takes on an added importance. The country needs young men who, in addition to good grounding in the science, also acquire technical

training in various spheres. It is our good fortune that nature in her beneficence has richly endowed our country with latent resources which only await the investigation of the scientists and skill and labour of the technicians to yield their benefits for the prosperity of the people. I am glad that your college has taken this step forward to give technical education. Remember the wealth of the nation entirely depends on its industry and the "know-how" of its technical personnel. I wish your venture every success and I hope your needs will evoke a sympathetic response from the well-to-do people.

Your demand for allotment of land to your college for expansion is legitimate and you have my full sympathies. Your institution is voluntary effort and self-help and you have shown by hard work and results. Therefore your demand is justified and I hope you will be able to secure the land so that you have enough scope for expansion and your ambition is fulfilled.

I am glad to know that fire kindled by Quaid-i-Azam still burns in your hearts and if ever an emergency arises in which the integrity and sovereignty of our country is threatened the student community will be prepared to play a vital and decisive role."

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125. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1960

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message to the nation on the occasion of the 84th birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam in December, 1960.

(Editor)

"Today once again you will be reminded of the accomplishments and achievements of the Quaid-i-Azam. His sincerity, ability, integrity and strength of character, his genuine belief in human rights and in the dignity of human nature; his great sense of justice and genuine concern for the weak and the wronged, coupled with his moderation and sense of proportion made him the ideal leader of his people; but what really helped him in surmounting the seemingly impossible obstacles in achieving Pakistan was his unflinching faith and his indomitable courage.

After years of experience and thought he had come to the conclusion that the partition of the Indian Sub-Continent was the only solution of India's political problems. Having reached this conclusion he never for a moment flinched or faltered. He had immense faith in God and in the moral and unifying force of Islam. He had faith in his people and in their ability to understand as to what was in their interests and what was not, who was their friend and who was not. He had faith in the justness of the demand for Pakistan and faith in his own ability to lead his people along the right path in realising this ideal. He had the heart of a lion and with such faith in his heart he could not be intimidated or deflected from his duty.

The Quaid-i-Azam was not unaware of his own popularity, and of the complete confidence that the Muslims had in him. He was also conscious of their affection and their loyalty to him, yet he never took a decision affecting the rights and interests of his people without obtaining their consent and approval. He was a firm believer in democracy and the rule of law.

The world is dangerously poised on the crest of what may be called a volcano of passions of intolerance, hatred violence and domination. Forces of nature are being increasingly conquered but man himself has no control over his own ego and elementary passion. There can be no doubt that material conquest and possessions alone are not going to bring peace and salvation to humanity. What is needed is a change of moral outlook, a

revaluation of values. The Quaid-i-Azam stood for friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world, and for the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings.

IMPERIALISM OPPOSED

He was opposed to imperialism and colonialism whatever be their form or complexion. All his life he consistently fought against these forces which sought to keep other people enchained and enslaved. Imperialism and colonialism keep changing their complexions and methods. The latest method is one of economic penetration, which is calculated to keep the under-developed nations in a state of dependency. As I have pointed out before, political freedom without economic freedom is a shadow without substance. In the ultimate analysis your salvation and stability depends on your own efforts and exertions.

Finally, I want to remind you of the purpose and the ideology of Pakistan. You must build your own inherent strength with faith in your mission. Onward shall we march with the bugles of Quaid-i-Azam's message and surely shall we reach that pinnacle of glory which the Almighty willed for Musalmans when he helped the struggle of the Musalmans to its successful conclusion."

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126. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1961

The following message was given to the nation by Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr in 1961.

(*Editor*)

"I wish the Musalmans a happy Eid. The discipline of the month of Ramazan is designed to equip the Muslims to develop moral strength and may, in modern terminology, be called a means of moral re-armament. It teaches them to overcome by their own efforts their desires and appetites, to be masters of and not slaves to their passions, to resist what is morally wrong and undesirable, to realise the distress of those who suffer the pangs of hunger and privation. Such a discipline not only imparts moral strength, but also affords the inspiration and the incentive to right conduct and right action towards promotion of common good and general happiness.

A nation which thus develops its moral character and the will to righteous action should find it easy to address itself, with determination and hope, to its problems, however difficult and complex. The key-note to success is self-confidence, self-reliance and self-effort. This, indeed, was the spirit which brought Pakistan itself into being, and this is the spirit which alone can win for Pakistan a place of honour in the comity of nations. There is no hope for people who reconcile themselves to a state of dependence on others. A self-respecting people strive to solve their problems by their own efforts, even if it involves discomfort and sacrifice.

IDEOLOGY

The developments in many parts of the world, where the freedom of many people is threatened by new forms of imperialism and aggression make it incumbent upon us to be vigilant about our own integrity and security, both, political and ideological. Though willing to be friendly with all nations and to cooperate with them in the common task of promoting peace, liberty and progress, Pakistan takes its stand as a sovereign independent State with an absolute right to pursue its own ideas and policies and to order its own social and political iife.

GENOCIDE

While we celebrate the Eid, we cannot be unmindful of the terrible

sufferings of our brethren in faith across the border. Our hearts are weighed down with grief and our deepest sympathies go out to them. These deplorable incidents have again demonstrated that a mere cover of secularism can be no guarantee for the protection of helpless minorities. Here is a case which must stir the conscience of all right thinking people.

Just as 21 years ago we were passing through a political crisis, we are faced today with a grave moral crisis. Greed for material acquisitions, lust for power and position, and hunger for soft luxuries are blinding our people. Values which Islam taught us, such as fear of God, respect for truth and justice, regard for the rights and dignity of our fellow beings, pride in honest work and industry, love of knowledge and learning, are either being destroyed or are threatened with destruction. For the health of the society and well-being of the individual, all efforts should be made to hold on to these values and they in turn will take us to heights of glory in body, mind and spirit, and that is what the ideology of Pakistan aims at. Pakistan Zindabad."

127. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1961

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha in May, 1961.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious and happy occasion of Eid-ul-Azha I wish to convey my sincere greetings to the people of Pakistan and Musalmans all over the world.

Eid-ul-Azha has a great significance as it calls on all Musalmans to keep the spirit of sacrifice alive. Haj has yet another important significance to the Musalmans. It permeates the spirit of unity and common brotherhood, fundamental in Islam.

Musalmans from all over the world, high and low, bow before the Almighty as equals. Let us all bind ourselves together to a single rope and scale the heights of glory that our dissensions have denied to us so far.

CONSTITUTION

Constitution is one of the first essentials on which our future progress is based. Our Constitution was abrogated in October, 1958. Nearly three years have gone by and the nation is impatient and must have its constitution without any undue delay.

Remember, in this fluid state of things, subtle attempts are being made to attack our sovereignty, universally recognised at the birth of Pakistan. It is, however, gratifying to see in the people the stirrings of a new life and a fresh determination to claim and exercise the sovereignty which they achieved as the outcome of a hard and bitter struggle under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

FLOODS, CYCLONES

Series of floods and cyclones in East Pakistan have taken a heavy toll of life and property, particularly the recent cyclone. The nation's heart-felt sympathies are with the sufferers. This tragic event has prevented them from participating in the rejoicings of Eid, and has marred the general feelings of happiness among the Musalmans.

Finally, while wishing my countrymen all happiness on this occasion, I appeal to them to zealously guard their freedom and their rights and put in their best efforts to raise Pakistan to the status of a progressive, prosperous, and powerful country."

128. INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE, 1961

The following message was given to the nation by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Independence Day in August, 1961.

(*Editor*)

"Today, on the occasion of the celebration of our Independence Day anniversary, though I am not in your midst, but I assure you that all my thoughts are with my country and the nation. Today we complete fourteen years of our national life as an Independent State, fourteen years of anxiety and patient expectation, fourteen years through which our faith in our destiny with the fortitude of our people and our determination have sustained us.

SACRIFICES

Our flag of independence, which will be hoisted today in every nook and corner of the country, is a symbol embodying the spirit of the people of Pakistan. It is an emblem of our willing sacrifices and cheerful sufferings for the attainment of Pakistan. It is an embodiment of our hopes and aspirations. It is the manifestation of our determination to sacrifice everything for the call of our land. It is indeed a sign of our honour and we shall live to hold it aloft and shall sacrifice our all, including our lives for this flag.

As we take stock of our achievements during the last fourteen years, the first question that strikes us is how far we have succeeded in realising our national aspirations, which bestirred us to work for Pakistan. Let me remind you that mere establishment of Pakistan was not the end of our movement; it was a means to a much higher and nobler end, namely a life of peace, plenty, freedom, and happiness for every citizen of the country. The object of our freedom movement in reality was to secure an environment and an opportunity for building up a freer, fuller, and longer life extending its benefits and joys to all the people coming within its orbit. We can never afford to lose sight of this fundamental objective to our movement, which alone gives meaning and substance to our freedom and to our national existence.

VIGILANCE

Freedom is tender plant; it needs careful nursing and constant vigilance. You have always to keep before your mind's eye the ideals and objectives for which Pakistan came into being. Let us not forget that the movement of Pakistan was the outcome of the democratic urge of determined people. With the same determination we shall march forward to sustain our freedom and attain our destiny."

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129. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1961

The following message was issued by Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Quaid-i-Azam's 13th death anniversary in September, 1961.

(Editor)

"Today we are full of memories of Quaid-i-Azam and one can feel he is somewhere around, though we cannot see him. At moment the mind sees his warning finger. Yet, one can almost hear his whisper. We are grieved that he is no more with us and yet his absence inspires us. His whole life is a model to pattern ours thereon. What a vacuum yawns between life and death.

It pleased God to choose Quaid-i-Azam as the instrument for the fulfilment of the mission of saving the flame of Islam from extinction in this sub-continent and providing Muslims with the haven where they can shape their life according to their faith and genius and demonstrate their ideals and values.

LEADERSHIP

I would like to mention some aspects of Quaid-i-Azam's leadership, who, by his lifelong struggle won for us the status of a free and independent people than which there is no greater blessing in this life. The enormity of his success and achievement is apt to create the impression that there was something mystical about Quaid-i-Azam's life and character. There was none.

His was an intensely human personality. He used human resources, human qualities and human means to achieve his ideals. By patient cultivation of his talents and energies, by sheer dint of industry and determination he rose to the highest rungs of the ladder both in his profession and in public life.

He depended on nothing but his faith and his efforts. Before preaching to others. he disciplined his own mind and emotions and developed the quality of self-restraint. His outstanding achievement was his own character which rested on clean living, honest thinking, incorruptible integrity, passion for selfless service, unwavering attachment to moral ends and ethical principles. It was a character which gave him triumph in the face of

stupendous difficulties and obstacles. His example is thus a precious legacy to the younger generation of Pakistan.

Though our hearts are laden with sorrow and grief on this day, the Quaid-i-Azam has left us such a shining example of achievement by sheer dint of character and selfless service that it can always serve as an unfailing source of inspiration.

DETERMINATION

His leadership was unique in several respects. He never yielded to force of circumstances or political expediency; he overrode events and created his circumstances. He turned the course of history by founding, in the teeth of fiercest opposition, a State on ideological basis.

How did he do it? There is no secret about it. His unparalleled success is attributed to his unwavering faith in his mission and in the destiny of his people, his belief in the subordination of all mundane considerations to moral ends and ethical values, his uncompromising stand on well-defined principles and ideals, his unfaltering determination to fight for noble ends with clean weapons, his uttermost regard for the people's well-being and progress and none for personal interest. He proved by his deeds that truth and justice, if sincerely pursued, bring success and glory even in the sceptical world of today.

Quaid-i-Azam's place in history and in the hearts of the people is imperishable. He worked for noble ends and not personal aggrandizement. He won the confidence of the people through selfless service and relied on their support and not on tall slogans. Pakistan will remain a living monument to his memory.

Let us on this solemn occasion re-dedicate ourselves to the sacred task of building up Pakistan on the ideals inculcated by the Quaid-i-Azam so that we march towards the path of peace, progress and prosperity. In the words of Quaid-i-Azam, 'I can assure you that there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and when you appear before your God you can say that you did your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness. This is the spirit I want you to develop and I am sure you will develop this spirit and work in accordance with it."

130. SPEECH AT JINNAH POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, KARACHI, 1961

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of Jinnah Polytechnic Institute, Karachi in October, 1961.

(Editor)

"It is a great pleasure for me to be here this afternoon to perform the opening ceremony of the Jinnah Polytechnic Institute.

I am glad that the Anjuman Islamia, Karachi, has laid stress on the technical side of education for boys, which is very essential specially for a new and growing industrial country like ours.

By supplying technicians you will be rendering great service both to our industry and to the economy of the country.

Today, as you know, the rivalry among the nations is in fact the rivalry of industry. Unless fast and immediate efforts are made to assert and establish complete economic independence, we cannot redeem our pledge of the betterment of the lot of the common man.

Therefore, we must not look upon the independence of Pakistan with a sense of complete contentment, but must use it as a means for immediate industrial and economic development

It is our good fortune that the nature in the beneficence has richly endowed our country with latent resources which only await the investigation of the scientist and the skilled labour of the technicians to yield their benefits for the prosperity of the people.

INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

In Pakistan industrial plants were set up rapidly and hurriedly but unfortunately we did not realise that technicians will be needed in a large number to run these industries.

However, I am glad to see that the Jinnah Polytechnic Institute will fill this need and thus greatly promote the production in various industrial fields.

As you know, the wealth of the nation greatly depends on its industry and the knowledge of its technical personnel. Therefore, yours is a very

important profession and the role that you have to play in the economic prosperity of the country will be of no mean import.

I would, therefore, expect you to make the best use of the opportunities provided for your training here which will enable you to make your full contribution both to your own benefit and the benefit of the country.

GATEWAY TO PROGRESS

Education being the gateway to all progress and prosperity, I am particularly impressed to see that by their sincerity of purpose and through persistence and perseverance the Anjuman Islamia has been able to start one educational institution after the other—a step in the right direction.

In this way you are truly following in the footsteps of the Father of the Nation and contributing your share in the building up of Pakistan, and I congratulate all concerned on this achievement.

Quaid-i-Azam has left behind a young country and dynamic youth. Remember, you are the backbone of your country; you are the embodiment of the hopes and aspiration of a great and mighty State that Quaid-i-Azam visualised and I want you to live up to his expectations,

With these words I have great pleasure in performing the opening ceremony of the Jinnah Polytechnic Institute, and wish all success."

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131. SPEECH AT ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION, 1961

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech while inaugurating the Inter Collegiate Fine Arts and *Crafts Exhibition* organised by the students of the St. Patrick's College in October, 1961.

(Editor)

"I am very glad to be here this afternoon to inaugurate the Inter-collegiate Fine Arts and Crafts Exhibition, organised by the students of the St. Patrick's College.

It is indeed very gratifying to see our young boys and girls taking interest in arts and crafts. But remember, art is much more than a hobby or a pastime. It has an eternal message from the past to the future. Every true artist should try to make his efforts to convey this message both to his nation and to the humanity at large. Not only feelings and emotions and natural beauty are depicted through art but it is also a means of depicting our ideas and ideals.

It also develops the sense of proportion, so essential to the development of a balanced mind. It also has its ethical value in the sense that it paves the way towards fuller appreciation of higher values and virtues. Art distracts one's attention from too much pursuit after material gains and elevates him from a totally materialistic attitude towards life. In short, art stands for bringing out beauty in every thing in life and, therefore, it forms a most essential factor of cultured and civilized living.

PHOTOGRAPHY'S PLACE

There was a time when photography was scorned at as a mechanical art, devoid of finer points of an art form. It was alleged that this art suffers from strict limitations because it can record only that which is a fact without any additions or substractions. It was regarded as a luxury. But in this dynamic modern age of three dimensions, technicolour movies and cinemascope, still photography has remarkably retained its solid position and has occupied a definite place in the realm of art forms of emotional expression. It can now correctly be termed as a necessity on account of the great contributions it has made in the fields of industry, commerce, education, culture, etc. Photography can go a long way in accelerating the pace of

industrial and commercial progress in a country like Pakistan. By depicting faithfully the various aspects of industrial advancement made by various countries of the world, despite great hurdles which present themselves in the beginning in every unexploited region, photography can provide the much needed incentive and enterprise to a section of our people in this respect. Pakistan with its vast potentialities and unexploited resources can be served to a considerable extent through this art.

We have inherited a wonderful heritage of art, which has left a stamp of its glory in an everlasting manner. Architectural beauty of some of our historical prides had won universal commendation and has been heralded as a triumph of artistic talents.

Due to various reasons art in Pakistan is still in its cradle. But I am glad to see that there is talent among our people who are making great efforts and taking keen interest to revive it in every field such as architecture, designing, textile, interior decoration and commercial art etc.

Pakistan is a young country and it must build up its own civilization, traditions, and culture. It has to leave behind its own history through means of arts and crafts as a proud heritage for the future generations. Therefore I would like you to be aware of your obligations and to leave behind you a rich heritage for the future generations."

132. SPEECH AT SIND MUSLIM SCIENCE COLLEGE, 1961

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at Sind Muslim Science College at the opening ceremony of Students Union in December, 1961.

(*Editor*)

"I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to be your chief guest at today's function. I have had this privilege before and if I accept your invitation again it is because I appreciate how much the future of the country depends on your accomplishments during this formative period of your life. More than a decade ago your nation broke the shackles of political subjection and achieved emancipation from foreign rule. I recall with pride the role which the student community played in the great movement of national liberation for which they received a welldeserved tribute from no less a person than Quaid-i-Azam himself.

Let me tell you, however, that the Pakistan of Quaid-i-Azam's dreams is yet to be realised. His fight for Pakistan did not have for its objective the acquisition of a mere piece of territory. His vision of Pakistan was a society based on "solid foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man." He visualised a social and economic order in which want, distress and injustice would stand eliminated, everyone would have equality of opportunity and enjoy the fruit of his labour and the creative impulses of the people would find the freest scope of expression and achievement in the moral, spiritual, cultural and material spheres.

WIDER PERSPECTIVE

The fight for Pakistan is till on. You are the *cream of the nation* and the custodian of its future destiny. Your approach to the problems besetting the nation has to be different from that of the demagogue. This is the time when you can acquire and develop the quality of clear, rational and disciplined thinking in all your endeavours.

To attain, equip and qualify yourself you have to keep in view the wider perspective of the life of a free and independent people. It is not individual career alone, but the part you can play in the development and

expansion of national life, that must claim your attention. Thus with an enlarged mental horizon you have to approach and fulfil your task.

If you pass from the individual to the collective, the material to the transcendental, you will feel all your thoughts and actions ennobled and your energies sublimated to a higher plane. This will be an inspiring and soul-stirring experience which is not something mystical but well within the grasp of everyone of you.

It is indeed very distressing to see that even after 13 years of the establishment of Pakistan, there are thousands of people still living under sub-human conditions in huts, which now and then catch fire. devastating not only the belongings of these poor people, but at times costing them their lives also. The recent fires in Karachi are the instance in point. Of course generous-hearted citizens have come forward and made voluntary contributions for the temporary relief of these suffering people. The refugee-tax is still being levied and a very large amount must be accumulated the proceeds of which must be utilized for the permanent settlement of the refugees.

COLLEGE LIFE

College life provides a very happy and fortunate period in the life of individuals. Assimilation of knowledge along with the utilization of faculties for shouldering responsibilities is therefore a necessity at this particular period in life. Mere devotion to books does not equip the person to shoulder the onerous task lying ahead of him in his private, social or political life.

While he has to attain a fair amount of intellectual capacity he must also be given an opportunity to prepare himself for shouldering other responsibilities of life. Union of students in this scheme of things is therefore a very important means of inculcating in them a sense of responsibility besides affording them the experience to run common institutions.

Thirteen years have elapsed since the attainment of your freedom. It is time that you develop some maturity in your political attitude. Your destiny is in your own hands, provided you know how to use the rights and the opportunities that are yours.

In your address you have mentioned that you are in great need of a students' lending Library. I fully appreciate your demand and agree with you. It is for the Sind Madressah Board who are incharge of running your institution, to take a note of this and at the earliest opportunity provide this facility for you."

133. SPEECH AT A FUNCTION OF MEMON JAMAT, 1961

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah delivered this speech at a function of Pakistan Memon Jamat. This function was held at B. M. B. School ground, Saddar, Karachi in December, 1961.

(Editor)

"I have great pleasure in presiding over the function and participating in felicitating those young men who have passed and obtained degrees and some distinctions in the higher field. I congratulate them sincerely and wish them further success in life.

The Memon community up till now had not given much attention to education, specially the higher education for children. I am glad they find that this deficiency should be removed and the leeway made up by intensifying the campaign to encourage young men go for higher education so that they may take part in the progress of every department and the nation.

The purpose of education should not only be to make you bookworms but to so train you that in life you may be able to shoulder your responsibilities successfully.

Usually people do not realise the fact that after the establishment of Pakistan the conditions have undergone a complete change and we can mould our life according to our conditions and requirements and according to our own faith. If we do not take advantage of the freedom and independence we have achieved after a great deal of struggles and sacrifices to march towards progress, it means that we are not taking advantage of the opportunities which have been achieved through independence.

ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

If you muster courage and go forward as quickly as you can, you can build up the country on true Islamic ideology.

Now let us understand what Islamic ideology means. It means democracy, brotherhood truthfulness and justice. These are the pillars of Islam.

It is imperative that the nation's mental horizon be enlarged and a spirit of service, tolerance and hard work be created so that you may

acquire virtues of truthfulness, equality and justice. This alone will be your strength of power which will help you.

If you want to build up Pakistan I would ask you to imbibe the teachings of Quaid-i-Azam and develop your character and create such a spirit of enthusiasm and strength in the nation that nobody would dare to lift his finger at you."

134. STATEMENT ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1961

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah issued the following statement on the occasion of Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday in December, 1961.

(*Editor*)

"Quaid-i-Azam's birthday is an event signifying joy and pride in the life of the nation, for on this day was born he who achieved for us our most cherished possession—freedom to live and develop as a nation with an ideology of our own.

It is needless to expatiate on how Quaid-i-Azam carried on the struggle for Pakistan to successful conclusion. We have, however, to remember one thing—Pakistan in the ultimate analysis was the outcome of faith, character and determination. Quaid-i-Azam in his life demonstrated these virtues in a manner which enabled him to triumph over odds and obstacles and more than one inimical force.

The moral basis and strength that he imparted to the Pakistan movement was such that it overcame all handicaps. This is an aspect of the movement which points out the way to the consolidation and development of the country.

Pakistan can survive and progress only if you revive that moral fervour and that pursuit of moral values which characterised the Pakistan movement.

IDEOLOGY

As I have pointed out before the object of struggle for freedom was not merely to carve out a country but to establish a State on ideological foundations. Let us seek light as to the contents of this ideology from Quaid-i-Azam's own pronouncements. In a speech at Chittagong he said, 'you are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly, you are voicing my thoughts in asking, and, in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and

genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilisation. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent.

The translation of this ideology into practice calls for clear thinking, honesty of purpose and sustained efforts. It is a challenge which you can neglect only at the risk of ruining your national integrity, and prospects of progress and prosperity. A nation in its onward march, especially in the formative phase, has to pass through many hardships and face even disappointments. But these ups and downs need not depress you, provided you keep your gaze fixed on your goal and steadfastly pursue your ideals and values.

Freedom and independence are more a responsibilty and care than a privilege. Look around you and see what havoc power-politics are playing. International morality and civilized behaviour are at a low ebb. Such conditions make it all the more imperative for nations to be self-reliant and to develop their inherent strength. By unity of thought and action, hard work and integrity of character you will achieve a strength which will protect you from all dangers and hostile designs.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In one of his speeches the Quaid-i-Azam urged the people to enlarge their vision now that they are free and independent. They should not think merely in terms of Government as they have been wont to do in the days of political subjugation. They should think of the limitless possibilities of the State and the nation. He observed, "it is natural for some to think only in terms of Government but the sooner we adjust ourselves to the new forces, the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State and our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it will be possible for each one of us to realise the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and fraternity which on the one hand constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also our limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State." Thus he set before us the evolution of an ideal social structure as the main object of Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam had great faith in his people. He wanted them to grow into self-respecting, self-reliant, progressive nation, destined to play its part in the furtherance of world peace and prosperity. I have no doubt that you will come up to the expectations of Quaid-i-Azam whose memory continues to be an unfailing source of inspiration for us all.

Never compromise on questions of principles. Those who have attained greatness would not hesitate to sacrifice their all and draw the sword whenever a question of principle was involved. They would rather lose their lives than lose principles. No temptations that this world could offer ever interfere with their conduct. Quaid-i-Azam also followed this noble principle. You know that on the question of Pakistan he never compromised. I would, therefore, appeal to you and impress upon you that it is also your sacred duty to your God, to your country and to your Millat that you do not waver. You, who are the inheritors of the greatest spiritual and worldly heritage, should never compromise your principles whatever may be the temptations offered or sufferings threatened. These principles you must apply to your personal struggles in life as well as those of your country. May God help and protect you."

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135. EID-UL-FITR MESSAGE, 1962

The following message was issued to the nation by Miss Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr in March, 1962.

(*Editor*)

"On the happy occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr I send my greetings to the nation and the Musalmans all over the world. In the shape of Pakistan we achieved freedom from political as well as psychological dependence. The Holy Quran was bestowed upon us during the Lailatul Qadr. Lailatul Qadr which precedes this great festival, also saw the emergence of Pakistan 15 years ago.

Islam is not only a religion of human relationship with God but it is a complete code of conduct governing all our activities. With the advent of Islam a new civilization based on equality, fraternity and justice made its firm appearance in this world. This message of human equality, fraternity and justice was not merely preached from the pulpits or platforms but was actually put into practice. In social, economic and political life, equality of status and opportunity reigns supreme.

Man, according to the Holy Quran, is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril. But his stature of manhood can only be fully developed if he plunges himself into a vigorous life with all its difficulties and compensations. This, however, is not an easy thing to do. It requires considerable courage, character and self-possession qualities which develop in man the essential human resistence against temptation—qualities which are cumulatively known as the self. It is this self that helps one to inculcate in oneself that necessary discipline which assists oneself to rise above fear and flattery. It gives one the strength to fight the little battles of life. It imparts preseverance, determination and boldness. It gives one the depth of character and hence that delightful politeness and humility which prepares one as an integral and useful part of society.

PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

History will record with letters of gold the magnificent events leading the Muslim India led by Quaid-i-Azam under the banner of the Muslim League to the achievement of their goal of Pakistan. But these magnificent

pages of history should not be allowed to be tarnished by our lack of faith in our ability to preserve what has been achieved after tremendous difficulties and sacrifices.

History of the Pakistan movement is a history of trials, tribulations and triumphs. Those who wish Pakistan to triumph, must be prepared to perish so that you can make history the pages of which will be as glorious as the pages of that period which helped us to achieve our goal."

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136. EID-UL-AZHA MESSAGE, 1962

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the eve of Eid-ul-Azha in May, 1962.

(*Editor*)

"The day of Eid-ul-Azha marks the culmination of the highest sacrifice known to mankind and is therefore a day of rededication and self-effacement. The history of Islam is replete with instances of our spirit of sacrifices made by the Muslims of the sub-continent in their quest of a State wherein they would have the liberty and opportunity to work out their destiny according to their faith and ideology.

With its many aspects Haj is treated as one of the five pillars reflecting the code of life collectively known as Islam. It gave us the 'namaz' to purify the soul, the 'roza' to purify the body and 'zakat' to help purifying the society. It gave us the institution of the Haj and brotherhood, and equality among men irrespective of their birth. It asks us to fear none but Allah, to freely choose our leaders and go forth to exploit the wealth that is under the seas, in the womb of the earth and in the void of the over-surface in accordance with His will.

DEMOCRATIC NATION

And, we Muslims, inspired by this teaching and in order to establish the values enunciated therein and live a life as near to these ideals as possible were successful after thousands had lost their lives in carving out this great country for ourselves so that we may live freely as an independent democratic nation.

Islam is essentially a religion of action which teaches us to undergo privation and hard trial in performance of our duty. From its very inception it gave us the message of equality, fairplay and justice. Remember the light which leads to our destiny emanates from the flame within one's soul. It cannot be borrowed from any extraneous source. This light will save you from errors and pitfalls and help you develop the spirit of self-confidence and self-effort.

Islamic Charter was written 1,400 years ago. The clarion call is still reverberating in our minds. Let us keenly listen to it."

137. INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE, 1962

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the eve of Independence Day in August, 1962.

(Editor)

"August 14 is a memorable day in the history of our country—the 15t anniversary of our independence—the day which saw the birth of Pakistan a an independent sovereign State. It is a day of great significance which wi revive the memory of our struggle and the ultimate achievement of freedor and having had the proud privilege to witness such a tremendous change whic marked the successful culmination of our 200-year-struggle for emancipatio from the domination of two alien forces. For us in Pakistan, August 14 ha more than usual significance of a national day because it represents not merel the physical emancipation of the people but the triumph of an ideal.

When 15 years ago Quaid-i-Azam unfurled the Pakistan flag on the soil c Karachi—the scene of his crowning glory—the people of Pakistan experience a joyful consciousness that at last their shackles and fatters had been broke and the way to the realisation of their cherished aspirations was thrown ope As we take stock of our achievements during the 14 years, the first questio that strikes us is how far we have succeeded in realising our national aspira tions which bestirred us to work for Pakistan. Are we any nearer to thes objectives.

WILL OF PEOPLE

You strove and struggled under Quaid-i-Azam's leadership to achieve democratic State in which the will of the people would reign supreme. A though this ideal and objective was never in doubt so far as the people ar concerned, a varying chain of factors and forces intervened to retard an clog the natural evolution of a democratic order. It certainly speaks for th innate vitality and the essential soundness of heart of our people that th efforts to keep the country down in a constitutional abyss were defeated.

During the past few months the country has been rocked with the tremer dous political shocks. Methods have been used which were far from dignifie in character, but I am glad the people registered in no uncertain manne their disapproval of these methods. These events, however, have brough out the painful reality that democratic institutions are still not allowed t

function in a normal way. Thus in this land of hope and promise a combination of circumstances had given us shock after shock, brought about a state of uncertainty and shaken our national pride.

Today the members of National Parliament can do what they like, and there is nobody to question them. Everything revolves round them. This situation has arisen because the manner in which they were returned provides no check on their conduct. The people cannot and must not be spectators of what is done in their name and on their behalf with regard to the conduct of the affairs of the State. The people are the real sovereign power. It is for them to see that the organs of the State function in consonance with their will and wishes.

A WARNING

We have seen attempts made to undermine democratic institutions and healthy conventions which are the very life-blood of any living and vigorous society. There has been an emasculation of representatives political parties which are the only means of giving expression to our collective will. Instead, pocket organisations have been engineered and encouraged. This, I must warn you all is fraught with danger and the canker must not be allowed to spread. Choose your political party after deliberation and work actively and vigilantly as a conscientious member, or else democracy in Pakistan will receive a blow from which it will be hard to recover. I take this opportunity to draw your serious attention to these vital matters in our national life at this critical hour and to the need of correct attitude, courage, unity, faith and discipline to keep things on an even keel.

Never compromise on questions of principles. Those who have attained greatness would not hesitate to sacrifice their all and draw the sword whenever a question of principles was involved. They would rather lose their lives than lose principles. No temptations that this world could offer ever interfered with their conduct Quaid-i-Azam also followed that noble principle. You know that on the question of Pakistan he never compromised. I would, therefore, appeal to you and impress upon you that it is also your sacred duty to your God, to your country and to your Millat that you do not waver. You, who are the inheritors of the greatest spiritual and wordly heritage, should never compromise your principles whatever may be the temptations offered or sufferings threatened. These principles you must apply to your own personal struggles in life as well as those of your country. May God help and protect you."

138. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1962

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the 14th Death Anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam in September, 1962.

(Editor)

"Today the 11th of September on the 14th death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, the whole nation will be commemorating his memory and I hope they will take stock as to how far they have been able to translate into practice the ideals and values he inculcated.

Throughout his long public career Quaid-i-Azam distinguished himself by sacrificing all personal ambitions and interests to the national cause, subordinating all mundane consideration to ethical principles and moral ends, taking his stand on well-defined principles and ideals, as against considerations of expediency, giving in short a moral tone and basis to all his activities.

At moments the mind sees his warning finger. Although he is no more with us, yet his great personality inspires us. What a vacuum yawns between life and death—what difference between man and man.

Here I would like to express my deep sympathy with the people of East Pakistan, where the fury of floods has once again caused tremendous damage tearing asunder thousands of people from their hearths and homes.

PEOPLE'S ROLE

In a true democratic society the people have to play a very positive and significant role. They cannot and must not be mute spectators of what is done in their name and on their behalf with regard to the conduct of the affairs of the State. The people are real sovereign power. It is for them to see that the organs of the State function in consonance with their will and wishes. There is no justification for an attitude of indifference on your part.

When you see evidence of deviation from your cherished ideals and values or find things going wrong, it is not only your right but also your duty to create, by all legitimate means open to you, a climate of opinion which would rectify errors and compel respect for the people's wishes and aspirations.

You have only to realise and appreciate the immense power that lies latent in an organised, disciplined and sensitive public opinion. Look within yourself, search your hearts, create your own power by the use of your latent faculties.

If you recapture your soul and galvanise your energies with faith in your country and your ideology, you will be releasing such currents of thought and action as can change the entire face of the country and set it on the road to progress and prosperity.

LEADERS

Here let me turn for a moment to those who profess or call themselves to be the leaders of public life. There is one basic point to which I must draw their attention pointedly. They have tried all methods and devices, which have failed to do good to themselves or the country. What is the main and real cause of this failure? The reason is they have never given a chance to real democracy to function, but they seem to think that the people are ignorant and do not understand things and there would be chaos if power goes into their hands. But I ask them what greater chaos and confusion can there be than the one which prevails in the country today.

Let me tell you the profound truth that real power and authority vests in and accrues from the people. Manoeuvring or staged political exhibitions may bring some temporary success but they never solve any problem and certainly can never help the country to attain a modicum of equilibrium and stability which is so essential for its orderly progress and development, indeed its very existence.

COLLECTIVE LIFE

In a democratic society the emphasis has to be on collective life and principles and not on individuals. A society which is ruled by ideas and principles lives and thrives but it stagnates and withers if it allows itself to be dominated by the whims and fancies of individuals.

You have only to look to the example of the Quaid-i-Azam. He never looked to individuals. He took inspiration from the people and relied on their support and confidence.

Therein lay the secret of his success and the success of the movement he led. As he himself said on one occasion : "It is now the authority of the Millat that you have to bow to, though you may be the tallest poppy in the land." That is the lesson which all those who aspire to popular leadership have to learn. Whatever aspirations you have, whatever may be your programme

and policy can best be achieved and implemented if you turn to the people and win their trust, approval and confidence.

PUBLIC BACKING

There is no problem and no difficulty which cannot be solved if you can approach it with the assurance of an organised and enlightened public behind you. It is time that all methods of short-circuiting public opinion and public demands were given up. Those who resort to manoeuvres only succeed in raising a Frankenstien which ultimately threatens to devour them. It is in everyone's interest to return to the path of having all issues debated and decided in the open forum of public opinion.

This again brings us to the example of the Quaid-i-Azam though possessed of unlimited power and glory which he could have used as he pleased, he never swerved by a hair's breadth from the correct democratic and constitutional conduct. He had faith in the people ; he respected their feelings, wishes and urges. In return he received a measure of support and loyalty which has invested his memory with immortal glory. Here is a great lesson for everyone of us.

It is by disciplining our emotions and ambitions, by living up to the expectations of the people and justifying their trust and by scrupulously observing the conventions of the democratic system that we can truly serve the country and deserve well of the nation."

139. SPEECH AT COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTRE, 1962

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech while she was inaugurating "Fatima Jinnah Community Health Centre" in Lahare in October, 1962.

(Editor)

"In every age in every country there has been need for a band of people devoted to the selfless service of the suffering masses of humanity. It has been a glory of such people to set an example to others of high standard of integrity, moral attitude and subordination of self-interest to the good of society. In the context of the existing conditions in Pakistan there is almost an unlimited scope for expansion of your activities.

The misery and distress, the poverty and want, the ignorance and apathy that prevail around are a challenge to our self-respect.

In our country there is an acute shortage of Maternity and Child Welfare Centres. Fourteen years have gone by and nothing has been done. And if people like you come forward with determination to help in solving national problems, we can easily tide over through such collective efforts.

WELFARE SERVICES

Our national health and paucity of health and welfare services are a cause for grave concern. The expansion of health services through such community health centres is a step in the right direction. I congratulate you for this achievement especially because provision of medical services to women and children through this centre will help in checking our infant and maternal mortality which we must admit are one of the highest in the world. Maternal and child welfare services are considered a basic public health requirement and the standard of wisdom and civilization in different nations is often judged from the extent to which they provide adequate care and attention to mothers and children. The progress of any country must depend largely on the sturdiness and well-being of its men and women. The health and well-being of mothers and children are the foundations upon which a nation's health and strength are built.

In recent years all over the world, there has been an unprecedented emphasis on the development of maternal and child health services. Procedure

and even whole programmes have been translated from one country to another without sufficient thought to their appropriateness.

It has been forgotten that retention of unproductive measures is an extravagance. New activities must be added to meet new problems. Funds and resources are, however, limited and therefore weeding out of unproductive and outmoded procedures with consequent savings is equivalent of increasing budget for more productive activities."

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140. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1962

The following is the text of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's message to the nation on the occasion of the Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday in December, 1962.

(Editor)

"Today as the country celebrates the birthday anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, I join you all in your rejoicing and remembrance. This day reminds us of that period of national pride, unity and achievement which was crowned in the creation of Pakistan.

That you continue to remember him with the same fervour and love as you showed in his life-time proves that inspite of all vicissitudes your essential faith in the ideals and values he placed before you, remains unshaken. Let me assure you that so long as this faith is alive, no harm will really come to you or Pakistan. I must, however, caution you that you have still to go a long way to the realisation of a State of the Quaid-i-Azam's dreams. He visualised a State in which unadulterated democracy prevailed and the people's will reigned supreme not only in theory but also in practice ; a State in which every individual would have the opportunity to attain happiness and prosperity while contributing his mite to the general well-being ; a State in which to use his own words, the principles of Islamic social justice could find free play. We are still far away from giving shape to the Pakistan of his dreams. After all what kind of Pakistan did the Quaid-i-Azam have in mind ? What was the vision he conjured up before his people which evoked their deepest loyalties and sacrifices ? In his own words, the raison d'etre for the establishment of Pakistan was to "have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture, and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play." Even before Pakistan came into being, Quaid-i-Azam visualised it as "People's Government."

CIVIL LIBERTY

The first pre-requisite of the establishment of freedom is civil liberty—the freedom of conscience, of belief, of expression, and of association. That is why Quaid-i-Azam defined Pakistan as a State in which we could live

and breathe as free men. It is nothing short of tragedy that in Pakistan things should have come to such a pass that civil liberties elude the people. The only weapon you can forge to enforce your right to live in an atmosphere of real freedom is to create your own inherent strength which comes from unity of purpose and action, discipline in your ranks and above all enlightened, organised, sensitive and vigilant public opinion.

Freedom is mo e a responsibility than a privilege. Freedom is not something to be enjoyed at leisure ; it is a challenge and an opportunity to work out your destiny unhampered by extraneous influences. Constant vigilance and ceaseless effort is the price you have to pay for freedom. The greater is your unity, determination and discipline, the nearer will be your goal of genuine freedom.

Quaid-i-Azam has left us such a shining example of achievement by sheer dint of character and selfless service that it can always serve as an unfailing source of inspiration. His leadership was unique in several respects. He never yielded to force of circumstances or political expediency ; he overrode events and created his circumstances. He turned the course of history by founding, in the teeth of fiercest opposition, a State on ideological basis. *How did he do it ?* There is no secret about it. His unparalleled success is attributable to his unwavering faith in his mission and in the destiny of his people, his belief in the subordination of all mundane considerations, to moral ends and ethical values, his uncompromising stand on well-defined principles and ideals, his unfaltering determination to fight for noble ends with clean weapons, his uttermost regard for the people's well-being and progress and none for personal interest.

LIVING MONUMENT

He proved by his deeds that truth and justice, if sincerely pursued, bring success and glory even in the sceptical world of today. Quaid-i-Azam's place in history and the hearts of the people is imperishable. He worked for noble ends and not for personal aggrandizement. He won the confidence of the people through selfless service and relied on their support and not on tall slogans. Pakistan will, Insha Allah, remain a living monument to his memory. Let us on this solemn occasion rededicate ourselves to the sacred task of building up Pakistan on the ideals inculcated by the Quaid-i-Azam so that we march towards the path of peace, progress and prosperity.

I would like those who are hesitating and those who are in slumber or in doubt and despair to wake up for the sake of Pakistan which is our most

valuable asset, achieved after tremendous sacrifices of the Muslim League and the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. Therein lies your success. The flag of the Crescent and Star which was unfurled by the Quaid-i-Azam in 1936 and under which the Muslim nation gathered, must be held aloft and flying, its mission is not yet complete. If you remain united, have faith in your mission and discipline in your ranks for the cause for which you are struggling, surely, there is no force in the world that can arrest the march of this caravan to its destination."

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141. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-FITR, 1963

The following is the text of the message that Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued on Eid-ul-Fitr in February, 1963.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious day of Eid-ul-Fitr I offer my greetings and good wishes to the nation and to our Muslim brethren all over the world.

Our steadfast devotion and discipline during the month of Ramazan makes us worthy of rejoicing on this happy day. I wish the joy had been universal in Pakistan. Lakhs of uprooted people without shade or shelter, cannot partake of the joy although they suffered that we may survive. Fifteen arduos years of miseries and sufferings have rolled by. Each Eid perhaps kindled the hope of a joyous next, but has ended in the same disappointment. This problem must be tackled, without which there can be no progress in the real sense of the word.

The unique self-discipline and sėlf-purification imposed on themselves by the Muslims in the month of Ramazan is meant to stimulate in us the virtues of truthfulness, honesty, compassion and fellow-feeling as the guiding principles of our conduct in life. These are exactly the virtues which the nation needs most. The whole significance of the sacred month of Ramazan and celebration of Eid will be lost if we fail to take inspiration for a determined effort to root out corruption which unfortunately poisons almost every aspect of our national life.

NO RESTING ON LAURELS

For a free and independent people there can be no resting on laurels. You have to be constantly on your guard. The real shield for your cherished freedom and your prized values is your own vigilance and circumspection. You must create a sound, organised, and sensitive public opinion which would not be bamboozled by subtle attempts to mislead you or wean you away from the sheet-anchor of your ideology. You must develop the capacity to distinguish the grain from the chaff. It is for you to ensure that those who claim to represent you do not treat their representative capacity as a business commodity for sale. Above all, it is the duty of the intelligentsia to set an example of clear-thinking. You must learn to view all problems and issues

in their proper perspective. Do not allow confusion to prevail. There is time for every issue to be judged and tackled. Beware of the attempts whi(are made to keep your mind in constant state of flux and uncertainty with tl result that no problem is solved and frustration overtakes you.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the attainment of your freedom. It time that you developed some maturity in your political thinking and politic attitude. Your destiny is in your hands provided you know how to use tl rights and opportunities that are yours. Too long has your destiny been t. plaything of behind the scene manoeuvrings. You must insist on everythi being decided above board and in the full view of the people. The corrupti of the public life can only be cleansed by submitting all issues and clain whether of indviduals or parties, to the arbitrament of public opinion.

The profound truth that real power and authority vests in and accru from the people should not be allowed to be overlooked. Backdoor metho may bring some temporary success but they never solve any problem a certainly can never help the country to attain a modicum of equilibrium a stability which is so essential for its orderly progress and development, inde its very existence. In a democratic society the emphasis has to be on colle tive life and principles and not on individuals. A society which is ruled l ideas and principles lives and thrives but it stagnates and withers if it allo itself to be dominated by the whims and fancies of individuals."

142. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1963

The following is the text of the message of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah given to the nation on the eve of Eid-ul-Azha in May, 1963.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious occasion of Eid-ul-Azha I send my sincere greetings to the people of Pakistan and the Musalmans all over the world.

The creation of Pakistan was a bold forward step in history ; it came as a challenge to the existing ideas that had brought so much strife and misery to mankind in this part of the world. This rising tide of Muslim democracy came. sweeping away the barriers of geography and language, when we pronounced to the world our ideological nationhood under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. I am confident that no machinations or hidden alien hands will succeed in dividing our people. Wherever we may be, we are one ; members of one nation, citizens of Pakistan—this our homeland, this land of our faith and our pride.

RULE OF LAW

I aave said it before and I must emphatically repeat that Pakistan was meant to be and will be a fully democratic State. Whether you look at it from the standpoint of the Islamic ideology or the modern democratic practices, demoracy can only be sustained if there is the rule of law—law before which the Khalifa, the King and the mightiest of the mighty had to bow and which must be respected by all, irrespective of their position in the country. That is the quintessence, the very soul of democracy. If respect for law goes, there will be anarchy and chaos. These, then, are the limits of the socio-political frame-work and these must be accepted and honoured at all costs.

If we do not treat democracy and the rule of law as sacred and supreme it will amount to a breach of faith with the people who reposed their trust in the leadership in the name of democracy. It is no service to Pakistan to seek to choke the channels for the expression of the people's opinions and feelings.

POLITICAL SHOCKS

The country has been rocked with tremendous political shocks. Methods have been used which were far from dignified in character, but I am glad the

people registered in no uncertain manner their disapproval of these methods. These events, however, have brought out the painful reality that democratic institutions are still not allowed to function in a normal way. Thus in this land of hope and promise a combination of circumstances have given us shock after shock, brought about a state of uncertainty and shaken our national pride.

PUBLIC OPINION

You have only to realise and appreciate the immense power that lies latent in an organised, disciplined and sensitive public opinion. Look within yourselves, searcn your hearts, create your own power by the use of your latent faculties. If you recapture your soul and galvanise your energies with faith in your ideology and your mission, you will be releasing such currents of thought and action as can change the entire face of the country and set it on the road to progress and prosperity.

143. INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE, 1963

The following message was given to the nation by Miss Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Independence Day in August, 1963.

(*Editor*)

"14th of August, which the nation is celebrating, is the most significant occasion in our national life, for this day 16 years ago saw the birth of Pakistan as an independent, sovereign State. It is the outcome of the untold sufferings and sacrifices of a people who were determined not to merge in an alien, caste ridden society but to preserve and develop their own egalitarian way of life.

Pakistan, as I have repeatedly pointed out, is the product of a democratic urge. The movement for Pakistan was conducted on democratic lines towards democratic ends. It is indeed an irony of history that a people who brought their State into existence throngh wise and fearless exercise of their franchise should today be asking for enfranchisement There is hardly any independent country today where any doubt exists as to the desirability, nay necessity, of allowing every adult to choose, by free exercise of vote, those to whom the affairs of the country should be entrusted. The people of Pakistan are not the pariahs of nature ; they are not out of the pale of operation of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere ; they have the same capacity as others have to think and plan and organize together for common needs of the present and for common hopes of the future. It is high time the legislators awoke of their sense of duty and realized that both the national interests of the country and its prestige abroad demand immediate institution of adult franchise as the basis of future elections.

ACHIEVEMENT OF UNITY

Let us consider coolly the present situation. Sixteen years back, under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, we achieved our goal of Pakistan. This was possible because we rallied round the Crescent and Star under one leadership and in one organization. In 1936 when the Quaid-i-Azam first took upon himself the task of re-organising the Muslim League. some people laughed and others mocked. But with faith, courage and determination the League grew from strength to strength and it achieved for us our independence. Few could imagine that Pakistan would be established in so short a time.

That achievement is unparalleled in history. No army, no ammunition, no money, no press—the Musalmans marched from strength to strength because they were united and refused to divide. Unitedly, therefore, they were able to stamp out all opposition and Pakistan banged on the map of the world.

Unity can be achieved only by the realization that there always has been a purpose behind the establishment of Pakistan. You may call it the ideology of Pakistan or by any other name but in fact it is the strong will of the people to live together and work out for themselves a system of administration and of life suited to the genius of our people. This is the basis of patriotism.

THEY HAVE FORGOTTEN

Many of us upon whom God has given His unlimited bounties in this country have forgotten the great heroism with which Pakistan was created. They have forgotten the unknown public servant who kept the wheels of the administration going under improvised tents and even under the trees with beddings and durries brought out from his destroyed homes, on paper torn from the exercise books of his children and with pens. pencils and inkpots borrowed from his neighbour. They have forgotten the small businessman who refused to have underhand dealings, desisted from black marketing and hoarding because he felt Pakistan's larger interests were more important than his personal gains. What happened to those patriotic sentiments ? Where do we stand now ?

RACE FOR RICHNESS

Almost immediately after the death of Quaid-i-Azam, Pakistan entered the eve of power politics and development based on economic considerations. I am inclined to think; that these things were completely foreign to the genius of Pakistan.

On the one hand, we have projected Pakistan as a land of opportunity and on the other we have concentrated power— political and administrative— in the hands of the few. The result is obvious. The foundations of patriotism have been destroyed. Cliques, nepotism and pockets of influence have taken their place. The process that started 15 years ago continues even today. Except, perhaps, for a brief period of a few months, the basic ailment has remained unaltered. It started at the top and it has remained at the top. This unnecessary race for richness must stop. We must mobilize our own resources of man power if we have to build our country as we want it to be built. I have faith in my people and I am sure they will not fail. No amount of friendship from outside will help us, unless we make our mind to help ourselves.

BIRTH-RIGHT, NOT FAVOUR

Another question which has deeply agitated the people's mind is the justiciability of fundamental rights. These rights are not meant merely to adorn the pages of the Constitution : They can be of practical use only when they are enforceable by the law courts. From the discussions that have been going on one gets the impression as if the justiciability of fundamental rights, if recognized, would be like a favour to the people, whereas it is their birth-right. The legislators would merely be doing their duty and discharging their obligation to the people if they provide for unrestricted justiciability of fundamental rights.

TIME FOR EFFORTS

In International affairs Pakistan today stands at the cross-roads. There is no doubt that it is faced with dangers. Pakistan was born in crisis, it has gone through several crises, and with the unity and determination of the people it will overcome the present crisis also. What is needed is self-realization and self-reliance. On this day, let me stress again, we have to take stock of the progress we have made towards building up the State of the dreams of the Quaid-i-Azam. He visualised a State where the principles of Islamic social justice would find free play. Can we in all confidence claim that we have moved towards the attainment of this goal ? Is it not time to redouble our efforts to evolve the kind of society and policy which would end the suffering of the people at home and win respect abroad ?

144. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1963

Following is the text of Miss Fatima Jinnah's message issued on the eve of the 15th Death Anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam in September, 1963.

(*Editor*)

"Today on this occasion of the Quaid-i-Azam's anniversary, the poignancy of feeling, natural to this occasion, is accentuated by the conditions prevailing in the country.

Sixteen years ago, the Quaid-i-Azam gave into our keeping a homeland, and a State which he wanted us to build according to certain principles and ideals which had inspired our struggle for freedom under his leadership. Today it is for all of us to do some honest heart-searching whether we have been true to the heritage he bequeathed us.

It was not for a mere territory that the Quaid-i-Azam had waged his heroic struggle against mighty forces, culminating in an achievement which stunned the world by its magnitude and magnificence. But he visualised in Pakistan the evolution of an ideal social structure.

Remember that a people lacking national purpose and objective becomes subject to all kinds of ills—spiritual, political and economic. Its public life loses zest and vitality and is choked by pernicious tendencies of all kinds and ultimately a betrayal of national interest.

DYNAMIC FORCE

If you want to defeat all these forces of reaction, you must re-create a self-confidence, self-reliance and develop your inherent strength. The Mussalman is a dynamic force who asserts himself best in the worst crisis It is that magnitude and wonderful ability of his which preserved his existence through centuries of decadence. It is, therefore, the development of that ability that will ultimately help Pakistan to achieve what apparently seems to be a difficult task.

If we have to build up Pakistan as the Quaid-i-Azam visualised, we have to grapple and face the problems with courage and vision. There is no room for complacency.

I am confident that you will remove the dark clouds that surround us on all sides. If you pool all your resources, you will achieve your goal.

As the Quaid-i-Azam said, 'Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in the history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made up of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others.

Like your own fore-fathers, you have only to develop the spirit of 'Mujahids'. You are a nation whose history is replete with instances of people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory.

CHARACTER IS DESTINY

It is said that character is destiny. It transcends circumstances. This can truly be said of the Quaid-i-Azam. He proved by his character that Islam in the sub-continent is a destiny ; it will suffer no destiny. He refused to be the creature of circumstances or political expediency. He over-rode events and created his own circumstances.

Though always in the thick of the battle, he remained untainted by the dross of political strife, because his weapons were, incorruptible integrity, singleness of purpose, selfless devotion to an ideal, indomitable courage and moral strength born of true faith. By example rather than precept he proved that even in the present day materialistic world if one adheres to truth and moral values one ultimately emerges successful from any crisis, no matter what dangers and calamities beset one's path. Here is a great lesson for the people of Pakistan faced as they are with a crisis.

SPIRIT OF MOMIN

In the true spirit of a Momin the Quaid-i-Azam never gave way to despair or despondency in view of momentary vicissitudes or difficulties. He overcame them with faith and undeviating pursuit of the right and not merely the political end. It is in this spirit that you must develop your inherent strength which would be the only effective remedy for the ills which afflict the country.

An occasion like the Quaid-i-Azam's anniversary should provide food for thought and self-introspection. How is it that a people who wrested freedom from unwilling hands in the face of repression and intimidation should today be clamouring for the right to vote and even fundamental rights ? You lost sight of the need and value of self-reliance, self-organisation and subordination of individual ambitions to collective good.

Nothing worthwhile is ever achieved or preserved without willingness to suffer for a higher cause and to resist temptation and tyranny. You are second to none so far as inherent potentialities are concerned. You have to remind yourself and become keenly aware of the real object of the establishment of Pakistan which, in the Quaid-i-Azam's words, was none other than the evolution of an ideal social structure based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasise equality and brotherhood of man. It is by developing an enlightened, sensitive, vigilant public opinion that you will achieve the ideals and values you hold dear.

The Quaid-i-Azam was a great champion of democratic principles and freedom of thought, expression and association. He never countenanced—in fact, he always opposed the moves for curbing freedom of individuals and freedom of the press. He used to urge the journalists to think independently on problems, arrive at their own conclusions and then to express them, irrespective of whether it pleased or displeased anyone, even if it was their Quaid-i-Azam.

This is an indispensable pre-requisite for the functioning of a democratic system. Any move to the contrary can only result in stifling the urges for freedom and progress and arresting the healthy growth of society and pride in one's country. A democratic order is unthinkable without free expression of thought and willingness to listen to criticism and view-points other than one's own.

I conclude with a quotation from the Quaid-i-Azam's speech in February, 1948, wherein he said :

"We have won the battle for Pakistan's freedom, but the grimmer battle for the preservation of that freedom and building it on a firmer and sounder basis is still in progress. And last battle has to be fought to a successful conclusion if we are to survive as a great nation.

"Nature's inexorable law is the survival of the fittest and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly won freedom.

"You have fought many a battle on the far-flung battlefields of the globe to rid the world of the Fascist menace and to make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and equality of manhood on your own native soil. You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time for relaxation is not ripe, yet with faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty there is nothing worthwhile which you cannot achieve."

145. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1963

The following is the text of the message of Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued on the occasion of Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday in December, 1963.

(*Editor*)

"While sharing with you the sentiments aroused in our hearts by the auspicious occasion of Quaid-i-Azam's birthday I have the privilege of speaking a few words to you. I am happy to have this opportunity for it enables me to touch afresh, if I may, the springs of thought and feelings which concern the integrity, stability and well-being of our beloved country. Our thought today inevitably turned to the Father of the Nation who by his unparalleled struggle won for us the status of a free and independent people than which there is no greater blessing in this world.

The movement of Pakistan which Quaid-i-Azam launched was thus ethical in inspiration and ideological in content. The story of this movement is a story of the ideals of equality, fraternity and social and economic justice struggling against the forces of domination, exploitation, intolerance and tyranny.

Quaid-i-Azam declared as early as October, 1947, that the establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last 10 years is by the grace of God an established fact today. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play.

The question now arises why should a people who achieved a State in the teeth of fiercest opposition known to history with such grand and noble concepts before them find themselves in the sorry plight which afflicts them today ? Why should there be despondency in place of hope ? Why should zest and determination be supplanted by apathy and lassitude ? Why should frustration and political waywardness take the place of constructive enthusiasm and robust political activity ? When you could move mountains in the days of your political subjection, why should you feel helpless as a free people with infinitely greater resources at your disposal ? It is for you to ponder over

these questions. Surely, you possess the same qualities and potentialities as before.

You have not undergone any intrinsic metamorphosis. Your difficulties are due partly to the deviation of leaders and parties from the principles and ideals of the Pakistan movement and partly to your own indifference and neglect. Remember that Pakistan came into being as an ideological State and it can exist only as such.

In a free democratic society, the people have to play a very positive and significant role. To doubt the need for democracy in Pakistan is to belie the world history of our freedom movement and to cast a slur on those who struggled and made sacrifices that the Muslim nation may achieve independent statehood. Pakistan is a precious legacy that Quaid-i-Azam has left into your keeping. It is for you to prove true to the trust, and you can do so only by upholding the ideal of a fully democratic polity and complex to social justice. If a people give way to sloth, apathy and despondency, they expose themselves to all kinds of dangers, internal and external. Your destiny lies in your hands. The surest guarantee for the protection of your rights and liberties is your own consciousness, vigilance and enlightened public opinion. Nothing noble and inspiring is ever achieved except by firm resolve, sustained effort and willingness to make sacrifice and face hardship. There is no short-cut to success. An ideal social structure can only come the hard way. Things may appear depressing and discouraging, but a people who fought against such stupendous odds to achieve emancipation from foreign rule must never lose heart.

You must, on no account, allow demoralisation to creep into your ranks. You must work selflessly and with steadfast zeal till you achieve adult suffrage direct election, complete justiciability of fundamental rights and real power to popular representatives. What is needed is that you keep your gaze fixed on your goal and march with sure steps towards its realisation. In the Quaid-i-Azam's life and example you will find an unfailing source of inspiration and correct guidance which, if you follow, will enable you to achieve your object sooner than you expect."

146. EID-UL-FITR MESSAGE, 1964

The following is the text of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah's Eid day message issued in February, 1964.

(*Editor*)

"On this auspicious day I wish the Musalmans Eid Mubarak. The Muslims today rejoice and give thanks to Allah for having enabled them to go successfully through the regime of self-restraint and self-discipline during the holy month of Ramazan. They have shown that man's glory is to be master of and not slave to his appetites and passions. The month of Ramazan demonstrates that moral ends have precedence over all mundane considerations ; in fact man's material welfare itself depends ultimately on adherence to ethical values.

A nation who thus learns the lesson of voluntary self-denial and spiritual training can face any self-sacrifice and undergoes trial or ordeal in order to uphold its cherished values and ideals. Patience, perseverance, willingness to make sacrifices and refusal to yield to temptations for temporary gains are the qualities which a Muslim imbibes by going through the discipline of the month of Ramazan.

It was in the month of Ramazan that Pakistan came into being and as such, today, our thoughts are invariably linked with the hopes and aspirations that inspired us. Therefore when we rejoice and feast and greet our brethren let us for a moment pause and reflect how far have we succeeded in translating the ideals and the spirit of Pakistan movement into a concrete living order of society.

These are very trying times indeed and I chose this occasion to draw your attention to bear upon these matters as we have just completed a routine of rigour and austerity directed towards self-purification. It was a month of trial, a test of fortitude and a lesson in discipline. Just as without the right attitude the fast may become anything but a sublime experience, so in our national life in this critical hour the need of a correct attitude, courage, unity faith and discipline to keep things on even keel.

FRANCHISE

The minds of Pakistanis today are exercised over the question of franchise and mode of elections, for these things are of basic importance for their future.

: is, indeed, most deplorable that in a country, whose very existence is the utcome of free vote of adults exercised in a democratic fashion, it should ill be an unresolved matter of controversy whether or not the people are fit) choose their representatives by direct vote. In an attempt to prove the eople's unfitness and to decry the system of direct elections all sorts of far-tched theories, dialectics are being employed.

The issue of Pakistan was a political issue ; the Movement for Pakistan as a political movement with a clearly defined political objectives to form an ıdependent State comprising regions of their majority wherein they would ave full opportunity to fashion their lives and work out their destiny accord-ıg to their concepts and ideals. The movement was conducted by democra-c means towards a democratic end which was achieved by the exercise of ɔte under direct elections. So much for the historical background.

The question is whether the people of Pakistan who exercised direct vote efore independence have suddenly undegone a metamorphosis which has in-ıpacitated them from exercising their vote in like manner now. It is argued ıat all sorts of political maladies prevail in the country. For one thing such olitical aberrations are not peculiar to Pakistan. The political instability 'as the outcome of the misdeeds of certain sections who still rule the roost nd flaunt themselves as paragons of patriotism and wisdom. The people ɔuld by no stretch of imagination be held responsible for it. In fact they ever got a fair and unrestricted opportunity to choose their representatives nd pronounce their verdict on policies and programmes.

One hears of the need of political education. The best means of political ducation is provided by direct elections on the basis of adult suffrage. If ıe political parties know that they can hope to enter legislatures and wield ower to implement their policies and programmes only through direct con-ıct with the people, they will, of necessity, undertake direct mass contact and mbark on extensive campaigns of political education of the people. If the dult population is good enough to elect persons to an electoral college, it is urely good enough to elect members of legislatures.

I have always believed and do firmly believe that we have a great future s a nation. So let us do the task, civilian and soldier, peasant and worker, tudent and teacher, businessman, doctor and judge, everyone to his post. It ; not for anyone ef these elements to leave the task af arresting the deteriora-ion to another. Everyone must play his part. Let each one of you do his luty boldly, honestly and truthfully and we shall have soon realised the great deals that had inspired us and inspire us today.

147. STATEMENT ON THE NEED OF WRITING QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIOGRAPHY

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued the following statement in March, 1964, regarding the need of writing the Biography of the Quaid-i-Azam.

(Editor)

"I owe this to the memory of my brother, to our country and to our nation, which has been impatiently looking forward to this book.

Fortunately, I have in my possession letters, files and documents of the Quaid-i-Azam, which will be of great assistance in projecting him in the correct perspective of history.

I shall be happy to receive any letters and documents that may be with any individuals or institutions that may prove helpful to me in writing this book.

Mr. G. Allana, who was associted with the Pakistan movement, has agreed to assist me in this task".

148. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1964

The following is the text of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's message on the occasion of Eid-ul-Azha in April, 1964.

(Editor)

"I offer hearty greetings to the nation on the auspicious occasion of Eid-ul-Azha. It is a great and significant occasion in the life of the followers of Islam, for it commemorates the act of supreme sacrifice performed by great Prophet Ibrahim.

Sacrifice of one's most cherished assets in response to God Almighty's call, in other words in a noble and righteous cause, is of the essence of the teachings of Islam.

The history of Islamic world shows that as long as the Muslims acted in this spirit they achieved success and lived the life of honour and glory. Recent instance is the creation of Pakistan itself.

It is the outcome of heroic exertions of millions of Musalmans of this sub-continent who cheerfully underwent all hardships and sacrifices so that Pakistan may come into existence, give expression to their urge of democratic freedom and enable them to develop their life individual and collective according to their ideals and values.

THE OBJECTIVE

It is necessary to remind ourselves every now and then of the objective and purpose for which Pakistan came into existence. For if you overlook the objective we go downhill and fall into the slough of misery and degradation.

Quaid-i-Azam declared even before independence that "politically Pakistan will be a democracy, that it will be people's Government and the Constitution and Government will be what the people will decide."

He was even more emphatic when he told a group of foreign correspondents at a Press Conference on November 15, 1946, that the plan for Pakistan called for popular representative government in which everyone will have equal rights.

That is the consummation towards which every Pakistani must bend all his energies and efforts if he does not want that the sacrifices made by his compatriots should go in vain.

DEMOCRACY

Attainment of democracy, which truly reflects the wishes and aspirations of the people and affords freescope for the expression of democratic thought and urges, is a slow and arduous process. It calls for unwearied efforts and willingness to put up with hardships.

It also requires of you not to give way to despondency in the face of unfavourable circumstances but keep your gaze fixed on your goal of unadulterated democracy based on direct elections and universal franchise and march with assured steps.

MORAL CRISIS

Just as 21 years ago we were passing through a political crisis, we are faced today with a grave moral crisis. Greed for material acquisitions, lust for power and position and hunger for soft luxuries are blinding our people.

Values which Islam taught us, such as fear of God, respect for truth and justice, regard for the rights and dignity of our fellow-beings, pride in honest work and industry, love of knowledge and learning are either being destroyed or are threatened with destruction.

IDEOLOGY

For the health of the society and well-being of the individual, all efforts should be made to hold on to these values and they in turn will take us to heights—of glory in body, mind and spirit that is what the ideology of Pakistan aims at.

Let us not forget that this beloved homeland of ours was achieved through immense sacrifices made by millions of Muslims—men and women—in face of stupendous odds.

At present there are various paths persuading us to tread. Each one leads to a different end, each one has its own idealism and ideologies.

Beware of the attempts to divert you from the sheet anchor of your ideology and do not allow confusion to prevail.

Regain your unity by following the path indicated by the Quaid-i-Azam, work according to the principles inculcated by him and you will find that all the obstacles in your path will vanish.

149. INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE, 1964

Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah gave the following message to the nation on the occasion of Independence Day in August, 1964.

(Editor)

"Seventeen long and arduous years have rolled by since Quaid-i-Azam laid the foundation of Pakistan. Having achieved a well nigh impossible task, the establishment of a separate Homeland for the Mussalmans—Quaid-i-Azam charged us to develop it to occupy an honoured place in the comity of nations. Have we fulfilled our task ?

Seventeen years ago, he gave into our keeping a Homeland and State, which he wanted us to build according to certain principles and ideals which had inspired our struggle for freedom under his leadership. Today, it is for all of us to do some honest heart-searching whether we have been true to the heritage he bequeathed to us. It was not for a mere territory that Quaid-i-Azam waged his heroic struggle against mighty forces, culminating in an achievement which stunned the world by its magnitude and magnificence but he visualized in Pakistan, the evolution of an ideal social structure. What is it that we find today ? Have we proved true to his legacy ? What have we done to translate into reality his vision of the kind of State he wished Pakistan to be ? He wanted Pakistan to be a country, which would be based on sure foundations of social justice, which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man. Can we claim that we have taken even elementary steps to make Pakistan such a country.

Millions of Mussalmans of this sub-continent did not make the greatest sacrifices merely to bring into being a country without any inspiring ideology or distinctive character of its own. Nor did they undergo the most terrible sufferings only to provide opportunities for self-aggrandizement and enrichment to certain privileged people. They enthusiastically responded to the call of the Quaid-i-Azam, because he conjured up before them, in all seriousness and sincerity, the vision of a land where they would have unrestricted scope to shape their faith, culture and ideology. This called for a struggle entailing untold sufferings and sacrifices, which the people willingly bore. It was the glory of the Pakistan Movement, led by the Quaid-i-Azam, that it derived its strength and motivating force from the will and aspirations of the people. This enthusiasm was aroused because they saw the vision of a high ideal and found their innermost aspirations embodied in the Pakistan Movement. Thus alone are people roused to heights of endeavour and sacrifice. It cannot be done by force, coercion or regimentation. The Pakistan Movement was direc-

ted in a democratic spirit, by democratic methods, towards democratic ends, namely the establishment of a free social order based on Islamic principles, wherein the will of the people would prevail and wherein they would be free from fear, want and distress.

POLITICAL STABILITY

Let me tell you once again, and with all the emphasis at my command, that political stability and certainty is the basis of national strength and stability in all spheres of life. To lean on others, therefore, is to violate the dictum of Quaid-i-Azam of 'Faith, Unity and Discipline? What we see before us today is anything but the right step towards the realisation of the Quaid-i-Azam's vision of Pakistan. I want to remind you not to forget the power that lies latent in you After all it was by your united voice and organized strength and the force of your opinion that you wrested Pakistan out of the unwilling hands. True, the Quaid-i-Azam is not in our midst today. We miss his leadership. But his spirit and ideals are there. His example and his precepts are there. They beckon to us to shed all selfishness and narrowness of mind and feeling.

There is certainly no reason why you should allow yourselves to be mute spectators of all that goes on before your eyes. It is for you to create a public opinion, which would put an effective stop to all underhand dealings, all intrigues, all selfish bargaining, all attempts to push parochial interests above the national interests. Too long has the destiny of the nation been trifled with. It is time the people with one voice called a halt. You must create an atmosphere which would make it impossible for your representatives to evade any further their bounden duty of giving you a workable Constitution which would give the fullest sense of security and satisfaction to every section of the population. Pakistan must have a Constitution which would set it firmly on the road to realisation of these ideals and principles.

FRANCHISE, ELECTIONS

There should be democracy and adult franchise and direct elections to bring the representatives of the people in the Government. Delay, let me tell you, shall be dangerous. Time is yet to arrest this harmful tendency to put an end to this hesitation and diffidence and indecision. Let me assure you that you can play a significant part to pull the country out of the prevailing gloom. You are a nation of 100 million people. Your destiny is in your own hands. Moral force—a force that springs from integrity and character and willingness to suffer and sacrifice for a just cause—is greater than any other force and always prevails in the end. That is the great lesson taught to us by history and by Quaid-i-Azam. Let us translate this lesson into practice."

150. MESSAGE ON THE DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-AZAM, 1964

The following is the text of the message of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah issued on the occasion of the 16th Death Anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam in September, 1964.

(Editor)

"On this day of the 16th anniversary of the sad demise of Quaid-i-Azam I am addressing the nation as usual and share with you my feelings and thougts on the occasion.

Today we are full of memories of the Quaid-i-Azam, and one feels, he is somewhere around, though we cannot see him. At moments, the mind sees his warning ; yet one can almost hear him whisper : "Unity, Faith, Discipline."

We are grieved that he is no more with us and yet his absence inspires us ; his whole life a model to pattern ours thereon. What a vacuum yawns between iife and death ! What a differenee between man and man !

CHARACTER

In this differentiation lies the story of man's character. After all what was it that the Quaid-i-Azam had which baffled his opponents and filled his followers with admiration ? To my mind it was the sterling worth of his impeccable character. He chose his path early in life to serve his people and his country and there was no training.

He crossed swords with the giants of his time and won : faced the opposition of a mighty empire and hostility of a wealthy nation. but unswerving he went on, defied geography and created history when Pakistan was created in 1947, crowning his efforts with success. But as a result of his strenuous struggle, he had to give his life,

PAGES OF HISTORY

History will record with letters of gold the magnificent events leading Muslim India to the achievement of their goal. But these magnificent pages of history should not be allowed to be tarnished by our lack of faith in our ability to preserve what has been achieved after tremendous difficulties and sacrifices.

History of Pakistan is the history of trials, tribulations and triumphs. Those who wish Pakistan to triumph must be prepared to suffer tears, toils, trials and tribulations. They must be prepared to perish so that Pakistan may flourish. It is in that spirit of self-effacement that they can make history the pages of which will be as glorious as the pages of that period which helped us to achieve our goal.

Since I spoke to you last, on this day, our national character has been put to test by a series of crises that shook the country. And what a spectacle did we behold ? Here was a man speaking against his conscience, acting against his conscience ; and thus were created various issues to divert the attention of the nation.

IDEALS

When we ponder over the happenings since the Quaid-i-Azam's death 16 years ago, we wonder what lights have been lit to show us the path of the realisation of our ideals. What destiny has been carved for us. what measures have been adopted to raise the standard of living of the poor ? What plans have been made for the reorganisation of the economic system on a more equitable basis.

WORK SELFLESSLY

To these vital questions, there is no answer. And let me tell you, you will not get an answer unless every one of you works for it in his own sphere and ensures through his representatives that these problems are tackled.

Instead, we find efforts being made in some quarter to decry the very values that were the guiding principles of Pakistan Movement, but you need not be downhearted. If you are vigilant, bear in mind your ideals and work selflessly and courageously in the interest of the country, all obstacles will melt away sooner than you expect. Your destiny is in your own hands."

151. REPORT OF SPEECH AT JINNAH PARK, PESHAWAR, 1964

Madar-i-Millat delivered the following speech at a public meeting at Jinnah Park, Peshawar, in October, 1964. This was her second public meeting of the Presidential Election Campaign.

(*Editor*)

"Freedom from foreign yoke is worthless unless it results in freedom directly to choose your own Government, Legislature and the Head of the State. The sovereignty in a democratic free country must reside in the people.

These elections were not ordinary elections. They were not merely for achieving administrative power of the country.

These elections would decide whether you live in this country as free citizens or that you wish to hand over your ultimate power to others over whom you will have no control.

She said she took the decision for contesting the election after a great deal of consideration. It was not an easy decision to take, she added, and said, 'When I found that our cause was just, I decided that I must join you all in this fight of righteousness.'

She said the situation demanded the utmost vigilance on the part of the people and therefore they should set up candidates who would discharge the trust faithfully. They should cast their votes in large numbers and ensure the freedom and impartiality of the polling authority.'

Miss Jinnah said that since she announced her candidature, she has been 'inundated' with advice that she should keep aloof from politics because of the high position that she enjoyed. I would like to ask these well-wishers of mine to search their hearts whether they have not done anything to erode that position.'

Miss Jinnah said that Pakistan was dearer to her than anything else, and that she had always indentified herself with the weal and woe and the hopes and aspirations of the people. She said she had no other motive except to give expression to their urges and desires and to help them realise those ideals and values for which they had staked their all in the struggle for Pakistan.

She said that a democratic set-up was an essential pre-requisite not only of the moral and national uplift of the nation at home but also the prestige of the country abroad.

Miss Jinnah said at one stage it was strongly advocated that the system of political parties itself was the root of evils and politicians were the embodiment of all vices.

Then a Constitution with a facade of democracy was brought forth and the idea of partyless democracy was discarded. A special enactment was passed permitting the formation or revival of parties and under the umbrella of authority a party was formed.

She said that those very techniques for which politicians of the past were condemned were employed to wean away members of other parties to the ruling party.

152. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING IN PESHAWAR, 1964

The following is the text of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah's speech delivered in October, 1964 at the public meeting in Peshawar during the Election Campaign.

(*Editor*)

"I am indeed greatly touched by the enthusiastic and zealous reception you have given me today. I am grateful to you for this warm-hearted welcome you have accorded to me.

But I am conscious of the fact that this welcome has a hidden but a greater meaning. You have turned up in such large numbers from all parts of this great region with a deep purpose, you have demonstrated today that you are ready to respond to the call of duty that you are fully alive to the situation in the country and I am glad that you are vigilant of your rights and interests and that you are determined to take back in your hands the sovereignty that belongs to you.

This is what is the real meaning of your assembling here, this is what is the true significance of the warm welcome that you have given to me today. I assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that I am heartened to see your determination to achieve our goal. Inshaallah, we will bring our efforts to their successful culmination.

The people of Frontier have centuries old traditions of a particular attitude towards life. That attitude is marked by this that you have never bowed your head to the forces of repression and oppression. I am deeply conscious of that perhaps no other people have been subject to such heavy and crushing intolerances as the people of this region have been, but you have stood the test of time, you have upheld your dignity in face of all odds.

Your contrtbution to the cause of Pakistan is equally magnificent, you were called upon to determine whether you wanted to join Pakistan during referendum, you gave an unflinching reply to join Pakistan, the glorious chapter of the referendum will always be written in letters of gold. Brave Pathans, you are the devotees to the cause of freedom.

Freedom from foreign yoke is worthless unless it results in freedom directly to choose your own Government, Legislature and the Head of the State, the sovereignty in a democratic free country must reside in the people, they must

have a right directly to choose their representatives to the Government, Legislature and to the highest executive office of Pakistan.

That is your basic right and without conferment of that right no Constitution can claim to provide for democratic form of Government. People of Pakistan have always cherished their desire to be free. Manifestation of freedom is the exercise of your vote to choose directly your representatives as Head of the State and members of the National or Provincial Assemblies. The symbol of your freedom is your vote and you must have inalienable right to exercise that right directly for a candidate of your choice that is democracy, that is freedom.

These elections are not ordinary elections, these are not merely for achieving administrative power of the country. These elections are not for the occupation of the seats of authority, these elections are for something deeper and something meaningful.

These elections will decide whether you wish to live in this country as free citizens or that you wish to hand over your ultimate power to others on whom you have no control today. You have assembled here to make this decision finally because I am afraid another opportunity may not be afforded to you in future.

I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that I have taken the decision to contest the Presidential election after a great deal of consideration. It was not an easy decision to take but when I found our cause was just, I decided that I must join you all in this fight of righteousness.

Since I announced my candidature, I have been inundated with advice that I should keep aloof from politics because of the high position that I enjoy. I would like to ask these well-wishers of mine to search their hearts whether they have not done anything to erode that position

Two years ago I happened to visit this very city of Peshawar and I was shadowed day and night by intelligence men. I would like to know why ? Was it not symptomatic of the atmosphere of suspicion and intrigue which has become a distinct part of the national fabric since this regime came into power?

I hope you realise that the country for which millions of our compatriots laid down their lives is today faced with a critical situation. Seventeen years after the attainment of independence the people stand bereft of those rights and liberties to which they are entitled as citizens of a free and independent country, the truly democratic set-up which they dreamed eludes them even today. Pakistan is dearer to me than anything else, I have always indentified myself with the weal and woe, the hopes and aspirations of the people. I have no other motive except to give expression to their urges and desires and

to help them realise those ideals and values for which they staked their all in the struggle for Pakistan. It is only this feeling that has prompted me to come out in this election campaign, although I know that in so doing I have exposed myself to all manners of misrepresentation and even attacks. The cause of Pakistan and its people, however, is above all persons.

Let me tell you that the situation demands the utmost vigilance on your part.

If you do not wake up and if you take wrong steps under any pressure or blandishment all hope of rehabilitating the nation on sound democratic and progressive lines would be lost.

A democratic set-up is an essential pre-requisite not only of the moral and national uplift of nation at home but also the prestige of the country abroad.

What is the situation today ? You are faced with a political philosophy which shows scant regard for freedom of expression and association and the Press, which even wants to regiment thought processes and considers the common man unfit to use his vote in a system of direct elections. Depriving the people of the right of direct vote is tantamount to mistrust in the people's ability to safeguard the interest and integrity of the country which they themselves have brought into being through their own toil and sacrifices.

Is it conceivable that the people will never betray the nation's interest or let down the country ? If the people claim the right to replace the existing set-up with a different set-up which respects rule of law, fundamental rights, real democratic liberties and real power to directly elect popular representatives, that cannot be decried as disturbing the stability of the country. Surely stability of a country cannot be confused with perpetuation of one-man rule.

We have witnessed strange ups and downs in the country during the Martial Law days.

It was strongly advocated that the system of political parties itself was the root of all evils and politicians were the embodiment of all vices, next a Constitution with a facade of democracy was brought forth and imposed on the country the idea of partyless democracy, the virtues of which had been extolled was discarded and a special enactment was passed permitting the formation or revival of parties.

The next step, followed as a matter of course those who had declaimed against party system collected together all the elements willing to come under the umbrella of authority and a party was formed. It was no longer considered undesirable to adopt the role of politician by the methods the party was augmented, in the legislature is known to you these very techniques for which

politicians of the past were condemned were employed and continued to be employed to wean away members of other parties to the ruling party. I ask you is that the way to establish a sound healthy democracy in the country ?

I have noticed with deep regret an unfortunate tendency in our country. There is a class of people which make it their business to applaud whoever happens to be in power and hail everyone of his actions and to abuse and malign those who are out of power. If this tendency prevails unchecked there would be no standard by which the validity or otherwise of any policy and programme could be tested and determined. In this psychological atmosphere democracy would become meaningless. Let me remind you that many of those who now happen to be in position of vantage were in one way or another associated with, and even beneficiaries of the past regimes and parties, whom they find it convenient to deprecate and malign.

Another unfortunate tendency is to dub anyone holding a different opinion as a disruptionist or even enemy of the country. To differ from and to criticise a Government is considered tantamount to disturbing the stability of the country and hence disloyalty to the State. This view may be in accord with the philosophy of dictatorship but it is certainly foreign to all democratic concepts. Surely patriotism is nobody's monopoly. A citizen's loyalty to his country is to be presumed unless the contrary is proved.

A tangible evidence. If some people happen to hold positions of authority, it does not confer on them a right to question other people's patriotism merely because of difference of opinion on the issues facing the country.

Let me tell you that free thinking free speech free association and free press are the basic ingredients of a democratic policy. If people are made to live in an atmosphere charged with fear and frustration their constructive facultiet cannot come into play and the country's progress is retarded. The country's prestige in the comity of nations depends on whether it is admini.-tered under a system which respects and enshrines the universally acknowledged democratic principles and values. If you wish to rehabilitate democracy and regain your self-respect and your inherent right, your obvious course is to refuse to yield to pressure or temptations and to support the nine-point programme which the Opposition parties have placed before you.

Next month elections will be held. Take with you the message from this meeting with a full determination to spread this message far and wide, set up candidates who will discharge your trust faithfully, stand together like steel and make all efforts in your power by constitutional and peaceful means

to win these elections and cast your votes in large number, ensure the freedom and impartiality of the polling authority.

I expect from you that you will not fail the country, that you will spread the light everywhere, that you will not spare any energy to work for the cause which is dear to you, by so doing you will create a precedent that would be remembered for ever.

From the zeal and enthusiasm that you have shown today I am confident that there is nothing which can deter you from pursuing the course we have chosen. The unity of the parties that you have achieved is your great strength. Hold fast to that string and march forward to your destination and success will be yours."

153. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING IN RAWALPINDI, 1964

The following speech was delivered by Madar-i-Millat at the public meeting at Rawalpindi held in October, 1964 during the Presidential Election Campaign.

(Editor)

"The welcome that you have given to me today is not only a matter of great satisfaction to me but also a source of great inspiration and courage. The response you have given to the call of the nation in this hour of crisis is an indication of your sense of pride and national dignity,

I am thankful to you in person that you have come out in such large numbers to demonstrate your will that popular sentiment and public aspirations must be recognized, and implemented to their satisfaction. You have shown that you are anxious to take back your own affairs.

CALL TO PATRIOTS

As patriotic citizens of Pakistan it is your duty by your present and future generations that we provide for an atmosphere free from corruption and from repression and oppression. We have to provide for them conditions in which they will have full civil liberties and full measure of freedom of thought, speech and action, so that they may prepare themselves and play their part as honest, sincere and patriotic citizens and bear themselves up with dignity and honour as members of this great nation.

This, ladies and gentlemen, is a great responsibility because of its magnitude, but the unity of purpose and of mind you have shown today make me confident that you are determined to accomplish even the most stupendous task that may fall to your shoulders.

You must remember that no power on earth can wrench from your hands sovereign rights which you have inherited in this country. No one can dispossess you of your spirit and your soul. No one can pollute your conscience. No one can snatch from you that power which you possess in your hand collectively.

A GREAT LESSON

You have to look to the people as the source of the real strength and inspiration. Here we learn a great lesson from the Quaid-i-Azam. He trusted

the people and the people trusted him. He worked sincerely and untiringly for them and they stood unflinchingly by him. He instilled in them the democratic spirit and allowed the democratic surges in the hearts of the people.

He made them feel that their destiny lay in their own hands and filled them with hope and pride, so that even though they lacked material resources they were not awed by difficulties or troubles.

SELF-RELIANCE

The Quaid-i-Azam is not in our midst but the spirit he inculcated is not altogether dead. You have to recapture it and allow it to visualise every phase of your national life. If you want to defeat these forces you must recreate the spirit of self-confidence and self-reliance and develop your inherent strength. That is the only answer to all such forces and that is the only way in which you can come into your own.

You have to restore to the Press your rights of free expression. You have to restore to yourself your privilege of free speech and free association. You have to maintain and encourage the independence of the judiciary. You have to provide a system of easy and speedy administration of justice.

That was a pattern of life which was set for you when the Quaid-i-Azam created Pakistan, so that you may follow unhesitatingly and unflinchingly the pattern of human behaviour that descended upon this earth as a blessing 1300 years ago. That we call Islam. I am sure that you will not let slip away the opportunity that has been provided to you by these elections.

THE DANGERS AHEAD

In the past I have warned you of the dangers that may be ahead of you, you are caught napping. I have endeavoured to draw your attention to your real responsibilities and your obligations towards yourselves, your people and your beloved country.

UNITY OF PURPOSE

By unity of purpose, discipline and organized strength you have to move forward, removing all obstacles from your path. You have to beware of traps and pitfalls. You have to distinguish between the true and the counterfeit. You have to resist temptation and coercion.

Now that you have shown an indication on your part of the awareness of your democratic rights, and of the determination to assert your will and feeling, you can see the result.

The atmosphere, which was dark and murky, already shows some sign of clearing up. Whether the clouds of dismay and frustration are dispelled altogether to let in the ray of light and life will depend upon your continued efforts to develop a strong discipline and organized public opinion.

The time is now coming when you will get the long awaited opportunity of exercising your sovereign rights and making your will prevail as to the politics and principles according to which you would like your country to be governed. Vigilance has brought you to this stage. You cannot afford to relax your vigilance lest you are deprived of the chance you have been yearning for.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Muslim history is replete with monumental achievements. You have done wonders in the past. You have more than once stood as one man. You have shown forbearance. You have withstood great opposition and obstacles.

You have always preserved human dignity. In fact you have taught the world what real self-respect means. I am sure you will repeat that history once again and that you will not allow your inherent rights to be flouted and usurped. In an independent country every citizen must feel that he is an integral part of the nation.

This can be achieved only when he has satisfied himself that he has exercised his right of choice for all the various activities of national life and that he has given his consent for all measures that are adopted for the conduct of national administration.

ADULT FRANCHISE

The basic requirement of independence can be fulfilled only by the introduction and conduct of the unfettered democratic institutions based on adult franchise for the Presidential and Parliamentary elections, which should be direct.

NATIONAL HONOUR

Ladies and gentlemen, I have placed before you a brief account of the situation as it obtains today. I have tried to explain to you the principles underlying our cause. I have drawn to your notice the essential ingredients that go to build up national honour and national prestige.

I have endeavoured to lay before you the right obligations, privileges and power that is inherently yours and which you should under no circumstances give up or even allow to be curtailed.

The present elections are the only constitutional form open to you to exercise your right. Let us, therefore, resolve today that we shall leave no stone unturned and use all constitutional means to win these elections.

Ladies and gentlemen, with enthusiasm that you have displayed today, the zealous spirit you have demonstrated, I am confident that Inshaallah with your help and cooperation, we will achieve our goal which will pave the way for a glorious future for this great land of ours and its people."

154. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT MOCHI GATE, LAHORE, 1964

Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah delivered the following speech at a public meeting held at Mochi Gate, Lahore, in October, 1964.

(Editor)

"It is after a long lapse of time that today I have the opportunity of meeting you. I am touched by the warmth and sincerity of the welcome you have extended to me. Standing in your midst my mind goes to the time when 24 years ago the representatives of the Muslims of the sub-continent adopted in this city the historic Pakistan Resolution at the session of the All-India Muslim League under the Quaid-i-Azam's dynamic leadership.

Lahore made history and gave a lead which changed the face of the sub-continent, culminating finally in the most marvellous event of modern times, the creation of a State on ideological foundations in the teeth of the bitterest opposition.

Today, 17 years after the inception of Pakistan you are again faced with a critical situation, and you have to take a momentous decision. The problem before you is the realisation of the ideals and objectives for which Pakistan was brought into being and to win back those basic rights and liberties which belong to you as citizens of a free State.

LAHORE RESOLUTION

When you adopted the Lahore Resolution you had before you the vision of a State in which every citizen would be treated as a decent human being possessing rights and responsibilities in which everyone would be assured of fundamental rights, equality of opportunity and basic necessities of life, in which the principles of Islamic social justice would find free play.

Whatever the causes, that vision has not been realised. If anything, the people's right and liberties have been circumscribed, the people's sovereignty is only a euphemism, they are told that they are unfit to exercise vote in a system of direct elections and they are expected to cling to the very fetters that have been put round them.

In such conditions there is no room for the growth of a healthy democratic body-politic. The people do not experience a sense of participation in

the administration of the affairs of the country and its progress and development is naturally retarded.

A great deal is heard of ambitious development programmes. Crores and crores of rupees are stated to have been spent on development projects. The public can only judge the success of this programme by its impact on the economy of the country and the life of the common man.

PROSPERITY

Where is the sign of prosperity? Should we seek it in the erection of some tall magnificent buildings or in the luxurious life of a few fortunate families controlling all the means of wealth while the vast masses of common people continue to live in abject poverty and misery?

There is today a wide cleavage between the people who want free democratic institutions and between the clique of the rulers who want absolute power in their own hands and who in order to mislead the people at home and abroad, are trying to set a facade of democratic institutions which have no substantial power and which do not enjoy any respect.

They have arrogated to themselves all the patriotism and all the understanding and claim that they alone, and none else, understand what is good for the country and what is in the interest of the people. Today they have discovered that democracy does not suit the genius of our people. On the contrary it is a recorded fact of history that without people's clear understanding, Pakistan could not have been achieved.

POSITION EXPLAINED

My attention has been drawn to a virulent personal attack made by the other Presidential Candidate, almost immediately after his Governor's appeal to the opposition to avoid such attacks. It smacks of bitterness, frustration and anger.

Ladies and gentlemen, on the one hand Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan has appealed for cooperation from the opposition for dignity and decorum, on the other hand he has made sweeping allegations against all of us which shows loss of sense of proportion. I would not have taken any notice of it, but now I find that it is being repeated and repeated.

He has said that I have no right to destroy Pakistan. I do not claim any such right. It is incomprehensible that I would even think of destroying Pakistan which is a permanent monument to my brother, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and for whose achievement I have also made my humble contribution.

I have brought about unity amongst a large section of the people from one end of the country to the other. All the five parties today are speaking with one voice from one platform demanding the rights and privileges which have been denied to them. Is this destroying Pakistan? I think the country has been consolidated and saved from the danger it might be exposed to.

He has said that I am the easiest opponent to defeat. Ladies and gentlemen I would like to ask why should he then worry? It is not for me to answer this. This answer must come from you.

And if today elections were held under adult franchise you have already given your verdict in favour of your choice. But in the present circumstances you will have to be constantly watching and vigilant so that the result is in accordance with your wishes and aspirations.

BAR THANKED

Let me take this opportunity to say that it is a source of great satisfaction to me that the Bar Associations have spoken with one voice. From all the corners of the country the clarion calls have been sounded by the learned friends of the Bar.

I congratulate them on their prompt and whole-hearted support. I am proud of them that they have understood the issues so well and so quickly. They have upheld the traditions of their profession so honourably and so fearlessly—the traditions that were dear to the Founder of Pakistan all his life, traditions which were jealously and courageously guarded by him.

I also congratulate the intelligentsia, the intellectuals and the educated classes and above all the masses who are the backbone of the nation for their overwhelming support in this campaign which we have launched.

I would, therefore, call upon you to spread out and carry this message of freedom, democracy and a life of honour and dignity to every home, village and nook and corner of your province.

No people can defend their country if they do not have the capacity, courage and determination to fight for their rights. If we yield to temptation, to corruption and coercion and force today at home then, believe me, tomorrow if Pakistan is in danger you will not be left with the courage and strength which is so essential for the defence of your motherland.

Therefore go about fearlessly and let everyone of you decide that you will select a person who conforms and subscribes to those objectives and who faithfully discharges his duty so that we can live in Pakistan free from fear

and walk with our heads high in dignity at home and attain for us a place abroad which is rightfully ours.

People are the real sovereign power, it is for them to see the organs of State functioning in consonance with their will and wishes. If you are united in your efforts you have nothing to fear, united we can remove all impediments in our way. Therefore, let us pool our resources in this gigantic task of restoring the sovereign rights of the people.

I hope you will rise to the occasion and give your verdict with a thumping majority in the achievement of our freedom."

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155. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT PALTAN MAIDAN, DACCA, 1964.

The following speech was delivered by Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah at a public meeting held at Paltan Maidan, Dacca in October, 1964 during her tour of East Pakistan in connection with the Presidential Election Campaign.

(Editor)

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I am overwhelmed by the great welcome you have given to me today. The enthusiasm you have shown and the response you have made to the call of the time, is a proof that you all understand the situation in the country full well.

I am conscious that you have assembled here in such large number not only because of my coming here but also because you have approved of the cause for which we are fighting these elections, because you have decided that the sovereign rights, of which you alone are masters, must be restored to you.

I am glad that you have taken the momentous decision. that you no longer wish to live in fear, that you do not want to lead a soulless existence, that you are determined to assert your will at all costs.

It was determination of yours, ladies and gentlemen, that I came out to join hands with you, when you raised the clarion call in the name of the fundamental principles on which the very existence of Pakistan is based.

RESPONSIBILITY

These elections have thrown a great responsibility on your shoulders and I am sure that you will discharge it with courage and honesty, which will surprise the world. You will prove once and for all that the nation wants an unfettered parliamentary democracy in the country.

I am glad that our opponents have after all realised that these elections are not a contest between two individuals, but between two systems.

On the one side is the road to dictatorship, on the other there is freedom and human dignity. On the one side your destinies are in the pocket of one individual, on the other your destinies are in your own hands. You have to choose between these two alternatives.

I find from the newspapers that Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan has launched his election campaign. The venue is given out as Peshawar and the day was Tuesday, just two days ago.

But the plain truth is that he launched his campaign six years ago. From the day he came into power till today the refrain is the same. Every lever, every weapon, every trick in the armoury has been ruthlessly used on every opportunity by him, with his men set on one objective he must hold on to power whatever the cost.

I would suggest that you look at the sequence of events coolly. The Constitution was abrogated in 1958, and let me remind you that it was abrogated by the very person who swore under a solemn oath to defend it. All political institutions the very pillars of the democratic society tumbled into the abyss of Martial Law.

THE CONSTITUTION

Among the other disastrous consequences, stood out one fact. The Constitution was the embodiment of the people's will; it enshrined the people's sovereignty; in principle authority was derived from and subservient to the willing consent of the people. Overnight the position changed. Martial Law by its very nature is the negation of the rule by consent.

Under it the Chief Martial Law Administrator derived his authority from the fact of power. The people were no longer sovereign, no longer the source of authority and power. They were merely ordered to obey. In six years that followed the events of October, 1958, the same principle has held good. I will tell you how.

A new Constitution was promulgated in March, 1962. Were the people consulted? No. Was it proclaimed in the name of the people? No. Instead it was ordained by one man that one man benevolently enacted a Constitution and this nation, a 100 million—strong, deprived of its right to vote. was supposed to stand up and applaud There are people who did applaud, who are still applauding. I have nothing to tell them.

Mr. Ayub has repeatedly said that he need not have given the new Constitution. Perhaps a Constitution is like an act of private charity. It may or may not be given. Supposing he had not given the new Constitution. What then? I do not want to give an answer. I leave it to this vast, surging concourse before me to give the answer.

ORDINANCES

Anyway, the Constitution arrived. It was promulgated by one man. It concentrated all authority in the hands of one man. After the Constitution came a flood of ordinances and laws.

The objective everywhere was to strangulate democracy. The Press was gagged. The jirga laws were extended to the whole of West Pakistan. Political Parties were banned. Fundamental Rights were clipped. Direct adult franchise was denied to the people. In short, the forces of freedom were curbed. It became a Government by one man, for one man.

Now, I say that there are limits to human endurance. Never in history have the people been suppressed for ever. Sooner or later they reassert their rights, they reimpose their sovereignty. That moment for Pakistan has arrived. This vast mass of humanity right before me is the evidence.

POPULAR WILL

This is the time for all concerned to ponder over the process of a peaceful transfer of power. There comes a pitch when the popular will aroused and alert, can no longer be frustrated, it cannot be defeated. It is a force so assertive that tricks like rigging of elections or the concoction of fake emergencies can no longer dampen it. All sections of society, including business community, and the politicians, whichever side they may be on, owe it to themselves and to the country to facilitate and honour the popular will.

The making or unmaking of Governments is not so important. What is important is that a system should be evolved under which the Government should be carried on by national consensus, not by the whims of one man. We have heard enough about an individual, about a saviour. Let us talk about the people.

REVIEW

The present elections have provided you an opportunity to review the situation in the country I am glad that you are already up and doing. Take your message far and wide. Visit every door and every individual in this country.

See to it that you choose those who will be above temptations and above personal considerations. Inculcate among your people and your representatives a sense of pride in exercising their judgment according to your wishes.

If you do so now your success is very near, with your help and co-operation, Inshaallah we shall remove the cudgel of admonition sooner than you think and replace it with the sheltering umbrella in which people will be free to chalk out their own destiny according to their own thinking and genius.

156. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT CHITTAGONG, 1964

The following speech was delivered by Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah at a public meeting held in October, 1964, at Chittagong during her tour of East Pakistan in connection with the Presidential Election Campaign.

(*Editor*)

"I have been greatly touched by the enthusiasm and warmth with which the people of this great city have welcomed me. I am happy to note that I find again among our people that there is a great deal of awakening.

Once again people are rallying round a common cause which is dear and near to them. Once again they have achieved an exemplary unity of purpose.

Sons of the soil, I am proud that I am in your midst today, particularly because I know that you have fully understood the situation that is facing the people of Pakistan today. I am sure that you are determined to demonstrate that you will not rest content until you get back your destiny into your own hands.

DETERMINATION

Nearly a quarter of a century ago, the people of Pakistan decided that they would prefer to govern themselves according to their own genius and according to their own free will. Seven years later, under the unimpeachable leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, Pakistan came into being.

It was one of the most marvellous events in modern history. But this was possible, because the people of Pakistan were determined to carry out that decision.

Today after 17 years of Pakistan's existence you are faced with a similar situation and you have to carry out your decision to take back your inherent sovereign rights with the same vigour and determination that enabled you to achieve Pakistan

During the last 17 years this country and its people have been trying to evolve a workable Constitution and a system of administration which would be based on principles of Islamic social justice and which would enable the people to achieve moral, social, educational and economic progress which

would enable Pakistan to play its rightful role among the great powers of the world. All these years the people have been looking forward with hope and anxiety.

But since this present regime has come to power the hopes are being shattered day by day.

The people are told that democracy has been tried in Pakistan and has proved itself worthless, and that the people of Pakistan are not suited to democratic institutions.

Our students are being brainwashed so that they should be forced to think only in one direction.

Our civil servants are living under shadow of force almost frightened and terrified. The present party in power, in fact, seems to behave as if they do not belong to Pakistan at all.

The gulf between the Goverment and the people is being widened every day.

The Government party does not seem to have any regard for the people and their wishes.

There is no sense of patriotism, no regard for social justice, no considera-tion of the popular will. Surely this philosophy is absolutely foreign to Pakistan. The Government party's overlords seem to think that they are the permanent masters of this country.

SOVEREIGN POWER

Let me remind them, ladies and gentlemen, that it is the people of this country that are the absolute masters of this land.

It is in their hands alone that the sovereign power lies. No power on earth can wrench it from them, if they wish to exercise this power freely and openly.

Surely stability of the country is not jeopardised by the change of Government. It does not depend on the man or a handful of persons. Real stability must be ingrained in the system of Government which must be based on sound foundation and which must have a continuity in administra-tion and national policies. Of what good is the stability which revolves round a central figure, which has no root and which happens to be the result of an accidental superimposition?

Political stability in the country originates from the people. They are the real foundation of a stable system.

AGGRESSION

We are told Pakistan may have to face aggression from outside and that we must be strong to face that danger. Let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that no country can defend itself when its people themselves are living in an atmosphere of terror. Patriotism springs from the sense of freedom, security and social justice that the people must possess. It is these values in life that people defend so that they can live peacefully.

But when they themselves are forced to live a life of dissatisfaction, no one can instill in them any enthusiasm or spirit of sacrifice. You know it more than I do that if this process continues any further, Pakistan will be reduced to a nation of cowards. I am indeed happy that millions of Pakistanis today have stood up to resist this outrage.

Mr. Ayub Khan has said that I have no right to destroy Pakistan. In reply I would say that I am proud of the fact that whatever I have said till today has been in the interest of Pakistan and for the betterment of its people.

What I would like to ask him is, who gave him the right to suggest joint defence and make such other offers to India. Within one year of the promulgation of Martial Law he went to Delhi to bargain over the sovereignty of Pakistan. A million thanks to God that India refused and we escaped from this danger by a hair's breadth.

I will like to thank the people of East Pakistan of the spirit and enthusiasm with which they have welcomed me during by train trip from Dacca to Chittagong.

The love and devotion they have shown, have impressed me very deeply. Without doubt you have proved that every single child in the country knows what our objective is and that you believe in it. Inshaallah we shall succeed."

157. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT KHULNA, 1964

The following speech was delivered by Madar-i-Millat at a public meeting held at Khulna in October, 1964, during her tour of East Pakistan in connection with the Presidential Election Campaign.

(Editor)

"I am overwhelmed by the enthusiastic and warm reception given to me by the people of Khulna. This rising tide of the realisation and determination to fight for our rights has convinced me that the days of autocratic regimes are gone in Pakistan. No one can fool the people who have come into their own.

Though I have been to East Pakistan on other occasions as well, this time I have come in the course of my duty at the call of the nation to lead the fight for freedom, democracy and righteousness and above all for the establishment of the supremacy of the people.

There can be no greater insult to the intelligence of a people than to create a system on the avowed assumption that they are ignorant, untrustworthy and incapable of handling their own affairs. Today the people have risen to establish that they do not want any limits of their rights and to them no adulterated version of democracy would be acceptable at any cost. No attempts to superimpose a system, however, highsounding it may be, will succeed because systems of Government are not mere temporary experiments but they must reflect the aspirations, traditions and the general mood and temperament of the people.

How can any one talk of democracy and the people's rights and at the same time cling to office in spite of the unmistakable verdict of the people? The essence of democracy is to bow before the verdict.

CONCOMITANTS

I have said it before and I think it is necessary to reiterate that the concomitants of the democratic system are a free Press and an independent judiciary besides the fundamental rights of the people to set up their own political organizations and to express themselves politically. We have seen that gradually practices have been initiated and institutions formed by which the freedom of the Press has been undermined. The power of the judiciary

has been circumvented and so far as the people are concerned all the progressive and active elements have been subjected to severe repressive measures. The youth of the country, particularly, the enlightened section and the university students, have been unnecessarily made target of repression.

As a result the youth of the nation, instead of putting in their best, is today almost neglected and unharnessed. In a free and democratic country it is the duty of the Government to create an atmosphere of wholesome and healthy educational progress and a sense of security among the students community.

If today I have undertaken to contest these elections it is because the avowed purpose of my mission is to restore to the people their sovereignty and to give them a genuine and representative system of Government which is their birth right.

Immediately after my campaign started all sorts of machinations and tricks have been resorted to. Everything is being done to defeat the very purpose of these elections, while through the medium of the controlled Press and Government Agencies a thundering propaganda is being made that facilities are being given to us. Nothing could be farther from truth.

FOREIGN POLICY

In the r propaganda and in their zeal the Government apologists have totally forgotten that the basis for an independent foreign policy were laid down before the Martial Law. In fact, I have always said that we would like our foreign policy to be independent in reality and in substance so that our friends can trust us and we can trust them.

The present regi ne has totally failed in the execution of this policy. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, how many new friends we have made in these years and how many friends we have lost.

STIFLING ATMOSPHERE

The policies that have sprung from the thinking of the present regime have created a stifling atmosphere in the country. There is corruption rampant at home and the aid funds received from abroad which ultimately the tax-payers have to repay and of which the burden must be borne by the people have been utilized to create a new class so as to perpetuate the selected few in power.

I would, therefore, appeal to you with all the sincerity and earnestness to realise that we are not fighting for personal aggrandizement. We stand for a clean society and a social set-up where the poorest of the poor, even in

the remotest corner of the country, would have an equal opportunity to improve his prospects and pursue his lawful objectives without the fear of the bureaucrats and play his full role as a citizen of Pakistan in a free and democratic set-up.

If you stand united and come forward with courage to assert your rights and establish the democratic order finally in the country, believe me no power can stop you. I hear whispers here and there that the Government will use all the means to stop the people but if you are alert and vigilant you can rest assured even the mightiest of the mighty will have to bow before the force of the organized public opinion."

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158. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT RAJSHAHI, 1964

The following speech was delivered by Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah at a public meeting held at Rajshahi in October, 1964, during the Presidential Election Campaign.

(Editor)

"I am deeply moved by the warm enthusiastic reception that I have received in Rajshahi.

During the last month or so in which period I have visited important centres from Peshawar to Karachi in West Pakistan and Dacca to Chittagong in East Pakistan, I have seen dynamism in the people and there is an overwhelming evidence that new awakening has come all over the country.

There is a new spirit and the people are determined to stand up for their rights and are prepared to fight for the establishment of full democracy in the country.

I want every Pakistani to know that my decision came as a result of the rising tide of popular democratic forces which joined hands, sinking their differences so as to march towards the fulfilment and realisation of the fundamental rights of the people.

I have never considered myself separate from the people and that is why I have decided to accept the call of the nation to do my duty in the decisive moment of our history. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the sagacity, wisdom and the patriotism of the leaders of the various political parties who have risen above their party differences and decided to unite on the fundamental principle of the basic rights of the citizens.

The freedom of the Press and expression of social justice and end of unjust and cruel exploitation by the few whom the undemocratic and unpopular regime has given fullest protection, with this realisation that has come upon the people and their leaders I am confident we will march forward with greater unity, with greater strength, with greater spirit to victory.

These elections are peculiar in democracy. Here is a system devised by one man rejecting the advice of the Election Commission which had taken the trouble to meet the representatives of the people and assess their views.

Thus in the framing of this system the people had no voice. Again in the framing of the rules and the demarcation of constituencies even the legitimate opportunities of the people have been denied and thus in their own system every step is being taken to see that the legitimate representatives of the people are not allowed to be elected.

If you remain united and disciplined and contest the elections in an organised manner, voting for a person who would legitimately and faithfully discharge your trust, I am confident that in spite of their safety valves and the tricks being employed they will be beaten at their own game.

We hear a great deal about the progress during the last few years. Once a house has been built it is easier comparatively to supply the drappings. We built this country without aid from abroad and with the most meagre resources available, but after the first few years of uncertainty were over what has been the speed of progress.

A great deal is being made of it. While actually in Khulna so far the site of the port has not been selected. The roads in East Pakistan and even in West Pakistan are not any better. Your education is expensive and what is more our planners have paid so much attention to the few industrialists that thousands of educated young men are jobless while the favoured few can be employed for salaries running into thousands.

I can never accept a system that makes it possible for individuals to have enormous wealth accumulated and be unanswerable to anyone and I know you will never accept this. How can we accept a system in which even the people's representatives cannot discuss more than half the budget much less to vote on it.

Today the people of Pakistan are wide awaken. No power on earth can stand in their way towards their march to fully democratic Government of their own. Rally round the cause of democracy fearlessly and openly and I have no doubt before long 'Inshaallah' we will realise our goal.

Pakisian was not created for a few. It was created for the ideals of social justice, equality, brotherhood, orderly and harmonious progress, peace and tranquillity. I appeal to you with all the sincerity not to allow yourself to be exploited. Do not be diverted from the main objective before you and stand together.

We speak with one voice so that the objective before us is achieved. If you are united in your efforts you have nothing to fear. United we can remove all the impediments in our way.

159. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT MYMENSINGH, 1964

The following speech was delivered by Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah at a public meeting held in October, 1964, at Mymensingh during the Presidential Election Campaign.

(*Editor*)

"This is indeed a pleasure for me to be able to come here and speak to you. I thank you for the warm welcome that you have accorded to me. The manner in which you have managed this meeting and the enthusiasm that you have shown today is a source of much gratification to me that you have understood very well the significance of issues that are before the country.

First of all, I would like to bring to your notice that heavy responsibility awaits you in the forthcoming elections. As the opportunity for the exercise of your decision comes nearer you have to keep your vision clear and make full preparation to use your franchise for whatever worth it is at the moment wisely and well. You will be approached by a number of claimants of your confidence and support. Here I may place before you some general principles which should guide you in casting your vote.

The very first consideration is whether the candidate soliciting your vote is one who could put collective good above personal gains, one who would not be tempted by any offers of office or other material gains to break his pledges to his constituents or to the party on whose ticket he is elected. Only then would he be a person who would have the capacity effectively to represent your views, wishes, needs and to judge and pronounce intelligently opinions on issues coming up at a later date. He should not use his success merely as a stepping stone to personal advancement but as a medium of service to the people the reward of which is bound to count to him in the shape of increasing public confidence and support.

NOT COMMODITY

While much depends upon the type of person you elect the successful working of the machinery depends also on your conduct as electors. You have to resist not only intimidation and undue pressure but also all kinds of temptations and inducements to purchase your votes. It is not a commodity to be offered to the highest bidder, you must realise that proper exercise of

your vote is the only way to preserve your cherished freedom and make your will prevail. If you misuse your vote you would be to blame yourselves for the ills befalling the country. I may warn you that tempting offers on this occasion will be made so as to win your precious votes. There would be many outside pressures and blandishments which would present a serious trial for you. Remember that a mistake at the polling booth may land the country in great difficulties. It is your foremost duty to ensure that Pakistan consolidates and grows.

Pakistan was not created for a few seekers of power. It was created for the purpose of realisation of the ideals of social justice, equality, brotherhood, common will, orderly and harmonious programme, peace and tranquillity. The evils of nepotism and favouritism must be nipped in the bud. It is in the utmost interest of the country that those who indulged in the vices of blackmarketing and smuggling must be dealt with severely.

I appeal to you with all sincerity not to allow yourself to be exploited by those who cause dissensions amongst your ranks. Do not be diverted from the main object before you that is to preserve the sovereignty of the people. Stand, therefore, together and speak with one voice so that the institutions which guarantee the stability and solidarity of Pakistan are established on sound basis in the history of nation.

People have staked their all and sacrificed everything for the sake of the country and principles. It is to safeguard these principles that we have launched this campaign. I am glad that the people are fully behind us in this and I would congratulate the people and the leaders of the five parties who have joined hands for the achievement of the common goal.

SELFISH MOTIVES

It is being said that these leaders have joined hands for selfish motives. I am afraid, I have nothing to give them nor have I anything to offer you except a struggle for the sake of the principles of freedom and democracy which the present regime has flouted during the last few years and brought the country perilously on the rock below which yawns the abyss of dictatorship, concentration of wealth in the hands of coteries and a prospects of unending exploitation of the common man.

If I have decided to answer the call of the people and take up this grave responsibility of leading them in the election campaign, it is because we can not allow those in power to lead the country to dictatorship and disintegration. I had never seen so clearly and so near the danger to Pakistan's future and solidarity as I see now and hence my decision to do my duty in this connection.

I am amused to note the increasing discomfiture of Mr. Ayub as our campaign gains momentum. He is now charging me of trying to destroy Pakistan. I wish he understood why Pakistan was created and why we fought for it.

It is only blind logic which can say that direct elections and freedom of speech and Press and improvement of the condition of the poor will mean destruction. He tried his very best to win over the men of various parties to his side but having failed he now labels them as opportunists because they have refused to betray their conscience and their people. Let the people decide who is for them for a stronger and better Pakistan. Millions cannot be wrong where their own future and rights are concerned.

OBSTACLES

I see that all kinds of obstacles are being created in the holding of elections to the Union Councils so that the real representatives of the people do not get into the Electoral College.

What greater misery can there be for the Government than to devise their own system, make their own rules, choose their own time and then have no faith whatsoever in their prospects. This is because of their guilty conscience.

Let us decide that we shall not be cowed down by these tactics, threats or wild allegations. Our objectives are clear and honourable and in the best interests of the country and at the popular demand of the people. Let us be determined to brave all in the cause of righteousness and 'Inshaallah' we shall win."

160. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS IN OCTOBER, 1964

The Combined Opposition Presidential Candidate Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah issued the following statement to the Press in October, 1964.

(*Editor*)

"From the 31st of October, elections to the Basic Democracies begin. Due to machinations and malpractices, a large number of voters who were entitled to be on the rolls have not been entered. But, those whose names are on the rolls will have the privilege to cast their votes. To them, my appeal is to vote only for those candidates, who have been either put up by the Combined Opposition Parties or who have pledged to support the Combined Opposition Parties. Any other course would be most dangerous for the cause of the nation.

Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan has recently issued a Manifesto as a candidate in the ensuing Presidential election. I have gone carefully through this Manifesto and feel surprised at the wide gulf between his precept and practice. In it he has cleverly said that it is in an endeavour to reach the objectives which he has outlined therein that he was seeking re-election to the office of the President of Pakistan. He has perhaps forgotten that re-election is only for five years, while he has already stayed in office a much longer period. If this longer period was not sufficient for him to reach his objectives, then the next five years will see a repetition of the same corruption and maladministration. The gulf between the people and Government will be further widened as we have witnessed during the last six years.

Manifesto contains platitude pronounced with careless ease probably to ignore them with equal ease with the first flash of his re-election. It is difficult to say that he believes, maintains, or really undertakes any part of the grandiose manifesto.

FOREIGN POLICY

Much has been made of the so-called success of the foreign policy of the present regime that came into power as a result of a military coup. What wisdom was there in handing over to India the Pakistani enclaves while the Berubari area was still with the Indians? A Government which is unable to enforce an international agreement had no business to part with her territory without first compelling the other party to meet their obligations.

In reply to my reference to the Indus Water Treaty, Mr. Ayub Khan said that he did get Rs. 900 crores for it. I ask him, is that adequate price for losing permanently the water for all times? Is it not frittering away our permanent water rights? Is it not a fact that this treaty represents the lowest ebb of his will because it signifies a lack of determination to fight for our water rights on which our prosperity, progress and future depends?

LIAQUAT'S MURDER

I have seen some references in Mr. Ayub Khan's speeches to the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. He is, however, silent on a very vital question as to who were responsible for his murder in Rawalpindi.

I charge that the present Government is destroying the moral and the sense of security of the Civil Service as a result of which the Administration all over the country has gone down. Law and order is not being maintained and the ordinary people have to undergo untold hardships and inordinate delay to get their grievances redressed. Is it not true that every method is being practised to use the Civil Service for the political purposes of party in power? If Mr. Ayub denies the charge of exploitation of the administrative machinery for political purposes, let him appoint the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan to hold an enquiry into this matter.

MAIN PROBLEMS

Main problems now confronting the country are supremacy of the people and their full control over fiscal and law-making powers, the freedom of the Press, the independence of the judiciary, the repeal of the laws against the students and against political parties and associations which have made it impossible for a Pakistani to lead a dignified life, as envisaged by the Quaid-i-Azam.

Mr. Ayub Khan had proclaimed himself to be founder of a party-less, politics-less system which, he claimed was suited to the genius of the people. As a conscientious man was it not his duty to have resigned when he discovered that his system had been rejected and he was forced to join the Rump of a party? With this kind of approach, does he believe he can give a moral lead to the people? I cannot imagine anyone clinging to office under a system which his conscience does not accept.

DIRECT ELECTION

He now says he believes that democracy provides the surest means of securing the fullest participation of the people in the affairs of their country. If it is so, why is he avoiding the people and denying them the right of

direct elections to the National Assembly, to the Provincial Assemblies and to the office of the Head of the State?

He now claims to believe that the institutional form of democracy must safeguard the basic right of the people to freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of Assembly and insists that it will be under the rule of law. Which is the law he has in mind? The law that he will ordain, promulgate and proclaim and has been doing so during the last six years. The Press Ordinance, externment laws, Security Acts, and a host of other laws form his armoury – do they make up the Rule of Law? His claim is, therefore, of no value or substance.

It is amusing to know that he believes that the people of Pakistan must themselves determine the form of Government which should be established in this country. If he really believed in this dictum why did he not allow the people to determine the form of Government? Why did he impose a Constitution in complete disregard of the recommendations of tbe Constitution Commission, which he himself set up? His claim is, therefore, clearly intended to fool the people and the people must beware of such claims.

JOINT DEFENCE

He also says he believes in the fundamental need of securing the sovereignty of Pakistan. why did he offer joint defence to India?

He claims to maintain that in all material and economic matters, the attitude of the country should not be doctrinaire but one dictated by the basic requirement of the situation. And, of course, he alone claims to have the wisdom to decide what is this basic requirement. His attitude in all material and economic matters is dictated by himself. Our basic requirement is the good of the masses but according to him, it is the good of a few Generals.

Mr. Ayub Khan has undertaken to ensure the stability of prices of goods used by the common man and to prevent inflation. What has he been doing for the last six years? Immediately after the promulgation of Martial Law, he stabilised the prices at a level where they stood in the black market and he is proud of such stabilisation. This way of stabilising prices has, however, made the life of the common man miserable and has swept the middle class out of existence. He undertakes to associate local people in the administration of their affairs and to transfer gradually such functions as may be possible to the Basic Democracies. This is a very tall undertaking. For the last six years, he has not thought it fit to give any important function to our local bodies who were not allowed permission to choose their own Chairman

and to be autonomous in their own sphere of administration. Why were they strangulated under a bureaucratic load? If six years were not a sufficient period for enlarging the scope and functions of these local bodies, the next five years will hardly make any differences.

LACK OF FAITH

His manifesto is, therefore, a document intended for election propaganda to befool the people of this country. His record of the last six years thoroughly exposes his lack of faith in the people and in his own programme which he has now chosen to issue to catch votes. A dictator, who imposed himself on the people and the country in October, 1958, is now trying to wear the garb of a democrat. Whatever the garb, he stands exposed. The people of Pakistan are not prepared to tolerate corruption, maladministration, repression, suppression and dictatorship any longer.

We stand for democracy, for clean administration, for the good of the people and for the sovereignty of people We are against dictatorship, corruption, coteries and cartels and the usurpation of the people's rights and sovereignty. If elections are allowed to be free and fair, if bogus voting is prevented and the sanctity of ballot-boxes preserved, I have no doubt that the people will pronounce their verdict in an unambiguous manner in our favour.

161. SPEECH AT A MEETING OF LAWYERS AT LAHORE

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah made the following speech at a meeting of Lawyers at Lahore in November, 1964.

(Editor)

"عوام اب بیدار ہو چکے ہیں اور حکومت کی بد اعمالیوں کے محاسبہ کا مطالبہ کر رہے ہیں ۔ ملک میں جمہوریت کی بحالی کی جو تحریک شروع ہے اسے کامیاب بنانے میں آپ مدد دیں ۔

میں نے مغربی اور مشرقی پاکستان کا دورہ کیا ہے جس کے نتیجے میں مجھے یقین ہے کہ پاکستان کے عوام پوری طرح ہمارے ساتھ ہیں ۔ اگر حالیہ انتخابات عوام کی رائے کا اظہار ہو سکتے ہیں تو عوام اپنا فیصلہ دے چکے ہیں ۔ اور یہ فیصلہ بہت بھاری اکثریت سے ہمارے حق میں ہے ۔ مغربی پاکستان میں انتخابی ادارہ کے انتخابات ختم ہو چکے ہیں ۔ مشرق پاکستان میں بھی جلد ختم ہوجائیں گے ۔ ان کے نتائج بڑے حوصلہ افزا ہیں ۔ اور اس بات میں شک و شبہ کی کوئی گنجائش نہیں کہ حکمران طبقہ کی طرف سے ہر قسم کے ہتھکنڈوں اور حربوں کے با وجود عوام نے فیصلہ کن تناسب سے ہمارے حق میں ووٹ دئے ہیں ۔ ملک میں ایک نام نہاد آئین ہے ۔ جسے ایک شخص نے نافذ کیا ۔ ایک شخص نے بنایا اور جسے ایک شخص چلاتا ہے ۔ وہ اپنا تقرر خود آپ کرتا ہے ۔ خود اپنے آپکو برطرف کر سکتا ہے ۔ جب جی چاہے پنشن پر چلا جاتا ہے ۔ گویا پاکستان میں ایک مطلق العنان بادشاہت قائم ہے ۔ وہ جب چاہے پاکستانی علاقہ اور اس کے وسائل فروخت کر دیتا ہے ۔ اس نے پنجاب کے دریاؤں کو سو کروڑ روپے کے عوض فروخت کیا اور اس طرح عوام کو ہمیشہ کے لئے اس پانی سے محروم کردیا جو پاکستان کی شہ رگ ہے ۔

میرے پاس یہ یقین کرنے کی وجوہات موجود ہیں کہ تعمیراتی پروگرام کے تحت امریکہ سے جو بھاری رقوم ملی ہیں اسے حکومت انتخابی مقاصد کے لئے استعمال کر رہی ہے ۔ اب تک آپ ان تمام باتوں میں خاموش تماشائی بنے رہے ہیں لیکن اب آپ کے لئے میدان عمل میں نکلنے کا وقت آ گیا ہے ۔ اب عوام بیدار ہو چکے ہیں اور اب تک جو کچھ ہوا ہے اس کا محاسبہ کر رہے ہیں ۔ لیکن یہ سب کچھ بڑی احتیاط اور نظم و ضبط سے کرنا ہوگا ۔ یاد رکھئیے کہ پاکستان ، عوام کا ملک ہے کسی اور کا نہیں ۔ عوام ہی اس ملک کے حقیقی مالک ہیں ۔

۱۳ ۔ دسمبر ۱۹۵۴ء کو مرحوم آغا خان کے خط کے جواب میں مسٹر ایوب خان نے انہیں لکھا تھا :

"ہمارے ملک میں وکیل قسم کا جو سیاستدان پایا جاتا ہے وہ تلخ حقائق کا اظہار کرنے اور مشکل مسائل پر بات چیت کرنے کے لئے موزوں نہیں ۔ بہرحال اب حالات کو بہتر بنایا جا رہا ہے ۔ نئے آئین کی تفاصیل تیار کرنے کا کام بھی تیزی سے جاری ہے ۔ لیکن اس میں کچھ وقت لگے گا اور مجھے امید ہے آپ اس کے نتائج سے خوش ہو جائیں گے ۔ اصل بات تو یہ ہے کہ یہ ہماری تاریخ میں ایک اہم موڑ کی حیثیت رکھتا ہے" ۔

صدر ایوب بر صغیر کی تحریک آزادی کی تاریخ سے بے بہرہ ہیں ۔ بر صغیر کی تحریک آزادی میں وکیل قسم کے سیاستدانوں نے جو شاندار کردار انجام دیا ہے وہ ہماری تاریخ میں سنہری حروف میں لکھا ہوا موجود ہے جہانتک پاکستان کی آزادی کا تعلق ہے اس کا تمام تر سہرا قائداعظم کے سر ہے جو خود وکیل قسم کے سیاستدان تھے جن کا مسٹر ایوب خان تحقیر آمیز لہجے میں ذکر کرتے ہیں ۔

ایسے افراد جو ملکی قانون کو مکمل طور پر نظر انداز کرتے ہوئے طاقت کے ذریعے عوام پر حکومت کرنا چاہتے ہیں ۔ وہ قدرتی طور پر

قانون سے متصادم ہوتے ہیں۔ اس لئے وہ عوام کے اس طبقہ کے خلاف ہو جاتے ہیں جو قانون کی خلاف ورزی کی بنا پر ایسے لوگوں کو عدالتوں اور عوام کے سامنے بے نقاب کرتا ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ چونکہ وکلاء ایک طبقہ کی حیثیت سے عوام کو ملکی حالات ، انکی باریکیوں اور پیچیدگیوں سے بہتر طور پر روشناس کرا سکتے ہیں اور رائے عامہ کی صحیح خطوط پر رہنمائی کرنے کے اہل ہوتے ہیں ۔ اس لئے آمرانہ حکومتیں اور متکبر انتظامیہ یقیناً انہیں پسند نہیں کرتیں۔ پاکستان کی عدلیہ نے پاکستان کے وقار ، عزت نفس اور عوام کے حقوق کو بلند کرنے میں بڑا اہم حصہ لیا ہے ۔ عظیم مشکلات اور دشواریوں کے باوجود ہماری عدلیہ نے کسی ڈر یا خوف کے بغیر انتہائی جرأت اور بے باکی سے اپنے فیصلے دئیے ہیں ۔ اس لئے موجودہ حکومت کی طرف سے ملک کے عدالتی نظام میں کسی قسم کی تبدیلی کی کوشش کا ڈٹ کر مقابلہ کرنا چاہئے پچھلے دنوں ہی مسٹر ایوب خاں نے کہا تھا کہ وہ ملک کے عدالتی نظام کو تبدیل کر کے صدیوں پرانا جرگہ سسٹم نافذ کرنا چاہتے ہیں ۔ مجھے یقین ہے کہ یہ کہنے سے ان کا مقصد عدلیہ کے اس فیصلہ سے بچنا ہے جو وہ عوام کے حقوق اور حکومت کی بداعمالیوں کے بارے میں دے گی ۔ وفاقی طرز حکومت میں عدلیہ کو مضبوط بنانا بے حد ضروری ہے ۔ تاکہ وہ انتظامیہ یا مجلس قانون ساز کی زیادتیوں کو روک سکے ۔ اس سلسلہ میں وکلاء اہم کردار ادا کر سکتے ہیں ۔ (مادر ملت نے کہا) ! میں یہ آپ کو بتادوں کہ عوام کے حقوق کی حفاظت کرنا آپ کا اولین فرض ہے ۔ آپکو چاہئے کہ عوام سے یہ پرجوش اپیل کریں کہ وہ جمہوریت کو تباہی سے بچائیں ۔ لوگ کافی بیدار ہو چکے ہیں ۔ یہاں تک کہ پاکستان کی خواتین نے بھی زبردست بیداری کا ثبوت دیا ہے ۔ اب یہ کام عوام کے لیڈروں اور پڑھے لکھے طبقہ کا ہے کہ اس جمہوری تحریک کو کامیابی سے ہمکنار کرنے میں مدد دیں“ ۔

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162. SPEECH AT A PUBLIC MEETING AT KOHAT, 1964

Madar-i-Millat delivered the following speech at a public meeting at Kohat in November, 1964, during her Presidential Election Campaign.

(Editor)

''پاکستان کے لئے صدارتی نظام موزوں نہیں ۔ ہمارے ملک کو ایک ایسے صدر کی ضرورت ہے جو مخلص اور دیانتدار ہو ۔ اور پاکستان کی خدمت کا جذبہ رکھتا ہو اور اسمبلی کو اس کے اختیارات پر کنٹرول حاصل ہو ۔ صدر کے وسیع اختیارات ایسے ہی ہیں جیسے بریکوں کے بغیر موٹر ۔ صدر پر مقننہ کے کنٹرول کے بغیر کوئی ملک ٹھیک طرح نہیں چل سکتا ۔ ہم پارلیمانی نظام حکومت کے لئے جد و جہد کر رہے ہیں ۔ اس نظام میں اگر کوئی حکومت دیانتداری سے صحیح طور پر کام نہ کرے اور غلط پالیسیوں پر عمل کرتی ہو تو پارلیمنٹ اس حکومت کو معزول کر سکتی ہے ۔ لیکن صدارتی نظام میں ایسا ممکن نہیں ۔ اگر کوئی شخص صدر بن گیا تو اسے پانچ سال تک ہٹانا بہت مشکل ہے ۔

صدارتی انتخاب کے قواعد کا اعلان اس وقت کیا گیا ہے جب میں اندرون ملک کے دورے پر تھی ۔ حکومت کا مقصد یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ میں کاغذات نامزدگی داخل نہ کر سکوں ۔ یہ حکومت بدترین قسم کی آمرانہ حکومت ہے ۔ جب میں نے ووٹوں کی فہرست میں اپنے ووٹ کی تصدیق کے لئے متعلقہ افسر سے رجوع کیا تو وہ غائب تھا ۔ اس سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ حکومت کی کوشش یہ ہے کہ میں اپنے کاغذات نامزدگی صحیح طور پر داخل نہ کرسکوں ۔ اگر میں اپنے کاغذات نامزدگی داخل نہ کرسکی تو اس کی تمام ذمہ داری حکومت پر ہوگی اور یہ حکومت

کی نا کامی ہوگی ۔ ہم صحیح جمہوری نظام قائم کرنے کی جد و جہد کر رہے ہیں جس میں عوام کو پورا پورا عمل دخل ہو ۔ پاکستان ایوب خان کی میراث نہیں اور نہ یہ میری میراث ہے ۔ یہ عوام کا ملک ہے اور انہیں اس پر حکومت کرنے کا حق حاصل ہے ۔ گذشتہ دو ڈھائی ماہ میں عوام میں جمہوریت کی بحالی کے لئے جذبہ اور جوش و خروش پیدا ہو گیا ہے اسے ملک کے گوشے گوشے تک پہنچانے کی ضرورت ہے ۔ ہم عوام کے تعاون سے ضرور جمہوریت حاصل کرلیں گے ۔

Madar-i-Millat also briefly addressed some public meetings on her way to Kohat from Bannu in November, 1964 in the following words.

(*Editor*)

مادر ملت نے بنوں سے کوہاٹ جاتے ہوئے راستے میں ڈومیل اور کلاچی میں بڑے بڑے اجتماعات سے خطاب کیا ۔ ڈومیل میں انہوں نے کہا کہ ”قبائلی عوام میں ہماری تحریک سے دلچسپی سے یہ بات عیاں ہے کہ ملک کے گوشے گوشے میں عوام جمہوریت چاہتے ہیں ۔ انگریزوں کے دور حکومت میں قبائلیوں نے زبر دست قربانیاں دی ہیں اور حصول پاکستان کی جد و جہد میں بھی ان کا حصہ ہے ۔ انہوں نے قبائلیوں سے اپیل کی کہ آپ جمہوریت کی بحالی کیلئے جد و جہد میں شامل ہو جائیں تاکہ ملک کو غلام نہ بنایا جا سکے اور عوام اپنے جمہوری حقوق حاصل کرنے میں کامیاب ہو جائیں“ ۔

163. SPEECH AT A PUBLIC MEETING AT BAHAWALPUR, 1964

Madar-i-Millat delivered the following speech at a large public meeting at Bahawalpur in December, 1964, during her Election Campaign.

(*Editor*)

"حکومت سرکاری افسروں کے ذریعے دباؤ ڈال کر ووٹ حاصل کرنا چاہتی ہے لیکن میں سرکاری افسروں کو خبردار کرتی ہوں کہ انہیں تنخواہ عوام کے پیسے سے ملتی ہے ۔ وہ عوام کے مفاد کے خلاف انتخابات میں مداخلت سے باز رہیں ۔ حزب اختلاف کا کوئی لیڈر پاکستان کا دشمن نہیں ۔ اگر یہ ملک کے دشمن ہیں تو آج تک ان کے خلاف کیوں مقدمہ نہیں چلایا گیا ۔

میں جہاں کہیں بھی گئی ہوں اسی طرح میرا پر جوش استقبال کیا گیا ہے ۔ اس سے یہ امر واضح ہو جاتا ہے کہ عوام ہمارا مقصد سمجھ گئے ہیں ۔ اب وہ اپنے حقوق حاصل کرنے کے لئے بیدار ہو چکے ہیں ۔ اور انہوں نے آمریت سے نجات حاصل کرنے اور جمہوریت بحال کرنے کا تہیہ کرلیا ہے ۔ چھ سال کے دوران آپ نے دیکھ لیا ہے کہ آپ لوگوں پر کس کس طرح تشدد اور مظالم روا رکھے گئے اور آپ لوگوں کو کس طرح کچل کر نیم جان کردیا گیا ۔ عوام کو کس قدر ڈرایا اور دھمکایا گیا ۔ گذشتہ چھ سالوں کے دوران عوام سے اظہار خیال کی قوت چھین لی گئی ۔ پاکستان اس لئے قائم نہیں کیا گیا تھا کہ عوام کو ان کے بنیادی حقوق سے ہی محروم کردیا جائے ۔ چند افراد کو تمام سہولتیں فراہم کی جائیں اور باقی عوام پریشانیوں، غربت اور بےچارگی کی زندگی بسر کریں ۔ نہ ان کو علاج معالجہ کی سہولتیں حاصل ہوں نہ پیٹ بھر کر روٹی ملے ۔ نہ پہننے کو کپڑا

اور نہ رھائش کیلئے مکان ملے ۔ ھرگز نہیں ۔ بلکہ پاکستان اس لئے قائم کیا گیا تھا کہ عوام کو ترقی کے مساوی حقوق ، پر وقار اور با عزت زندگی کے مواقع میسر ھوں گے ۔

اگر آپ اپنے چھینے ھوئے حقوق حاصل کرنا چاھتے ہیں تو آپ میں آج بیداری کی جو لہر پیدا ھوئی ھے اسے قائم رکھیں ۔ اور اس میں ھرگز کمی نہ آنے دیں ۔ آپ کو معلوم ھے کہ ایک ماہ میں صدارتی انتخاب ھونے والے ھیں جہاں تک عوام کا تعلق ھے انتخابی اداروں کے انتخاب میں وہ اپنی رائے ظاھر کر چکے ھیں ۔ اور انہوں نے بی ۔ ڈی کے ممبروں کو منتخب کرلیا ھے اور اب انتخاب کا دوسرا دور شروع ھوتا ھے جس میں بی ۔ ڈی کے ممبر صدارتی انتخاب میں اپنی رائے کا اظہار کریں گے ۔ بی ۔ ڈی کے ممبروں کو چاھئیے کہ وہ عوام کی خواھش اور منشا کے مطابق ووٹ ڈالیں میں جانتی ھوں کہ اگر انہوں نے آپ کی منشا کے مطابق ووٹ ڈالا تو ان پر مظالم روا رکھے جائیں گے لیکن میں انتخابی ادارہ کے منتخب ممبروں سے کہنا چاھتی ھوں کہ انہیں بھی اسی ملک میں رھنا ھے اس وقت اگر انہوں نے خوف و تشدد اور دھمکی کے سامنے سپر ڈال دی تو انہیں خود اور ان کی آیندہ نسلوں کو بھی اس کی سزا بھگتنا پڑے گی ۔ یاد رکھئیے ھمیں غصب شدہ جمہوریت کو واپس لینا ھے ۔ جو نظام آج آپ کے سامنے جمہوریت کہہ کر پیش کیا جا رھا ھے وہ جمہوریت نہیں بلکہ کھلی آمریت ھے ۔ ھم اس آمریت کو ختم کرنے کے لئے میدان عمل میں نکلے ہیں ۔ اگر آج آمریت کو ختم نہ کیا گیا تو پورے ملک کو نقصان اٹھانا پڑے گا یہ آئین جو آج آئین کے نام پر ملک میں نافذ ھے ، ایک شخص کا بنایا ھوا ہے ۔ اس کے بنانے میں نہ تو عوام کی رائے لی گئی ھے اور نہ کوئی استصواب کرایا گیا ھے ۔ یہاں تک کہ وزیروں کو بھی پہلے سے اس کا علم نہیں تھا ۔

مسٹر ایوب خان نے پاکستان کے تین دریا نو ارب روپے میں فروخت کر ڈالے ہیں ۔ (آپ نے سوالیہ انداز میں کہا) مقبوضہ کشمیر سے بہ کر آنے والے تین مغربی دریاؤں سے کونسے علاقے سیراب کئے جائیں گے کیا وہ (ایوب خان) بھارت کے زیر قبضہ مقبوضہ کشمیر کو ان سے سیراب کریں گے ۔ وہ کہتے ہیں ہم تربیلا بند اور منگلا بند تعمیر کرا رہے ہیں ۔ ان کے ساتھ نہریں اور جھیلیں بھی بنائی جائیں گی لیکن میں کہتی ہوں کہ یہ تینوں مغربی دریا جو مقبوضہ کشمیر سے بہ کر آتے ہیں اور یہ بڑے بڑے بیراج پچاس سال میں خشک ہو جائیں گے اور اس طرح پاکستان بنجر اور بے آباد ہو کر رہ جائے گا ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان نے پاکستان کی اقتصادی آزادی کے ساتھ ساتھ ملک کی سیاسی آزادی کو بھی فروخت کر ڈالا ہے ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان نے چین اور بھارت کے سرحدی تصادم کے موقع پر بھارت کو مشترکہ دفاع کی جو تجویز پیش کی تھی ، اس سے انہوں (ایوب خان) نے ملک کی آزادی کا سودا کرنے کی کوشش کی اور یہ سب کچھ مارشل لاء کے تحت کیا گیا ۔ لیکن پنڈت نہرو مشترکہ دفاع پر آمادہ نہ ہوئے ورنہ یہ تو ہماری آزادی کا سودا کر چکے تھے ۔ برسر اقتدار پارٹی کی جانب سے حزب اختلاف کی جماعتوں پر ملک دشمنی کا الزام عائد کیا جاتا ہے اگر یہ لیڈر ملک کے دشمن تھے تو پچھلے سال میں ان کے خلاف کیوں کارروائی نہ کی گئی ۔ اصل حقیقت یہ ہے کہ ان میں سے کوئی بھی ملک کا دشمن نہیں ۔ مجھے بتایا جائے کہ مسٹر ایوب خان نے چند ہفتے قبل اپنے دورۂ مشرقی پاکستان کے دوران نیشنل عوامی پارٹی کے رہنما مولانا بھاشانی سے ملنے کی کیوں کوشش کی تھی ۔ (مادر ملت نے بتایا کہ) مولانا بھاشانی نے خود صدر ایوب کے ساتھ ملنے سے انکار کردیا تھا لیکن اگر وہ ملک کے دشمن ہیں تو بہانہ بنا کر ان کے علاج کے لئے ڈاکٹر کیوں بھیجا گیا تھا ۔

(خاتون پاکستان نے سرکاری حکام کو خبردار کیا کہ) وہ انتخابات

میں مداخلت سے گریز کریں اور اپنے ضمیر کے خلاف کام نہ کریں ۔ اہل وطن کی جانب سے ان پر جو ذمہ داریاں عائد ہوتی ہیں ، انہیں پورا کریں ۔ برسر اقتدار طبقہ سرکاری مشینری اپنے مقاصد کے لئے استعمال کر رہا ہے زر خرید اخبارات کو اور دوسرے پبلک اداروں کو نا جائز استعمال میں لا یا جا رہا ہے ۔ لیکن اس سے کچھ نہیں بنے گا ۔ حکومت خواہ کچھ بھی کرے ہم بھاری اکثریت سے کامیاب ہوں گے ۔ عوام ہمارے ساتھ ہیں اور وہ آمریت کو ختم کرنے کا تہیہ کر چکے ہیں ۔ میں چیلنج کرتی ہوں کہ مسٹر ایوب خاں میرے سامنے عوام میں آئیں اور ثابت کریں کہ عوام ان کے ساتھ ہیں ۔ (آپ نے کہا) کہ میں جانتی ہوں کہ وہ کیسے لوگوں کے لیڈر ہیں اور عوام سے ان کا کس قسم کا تعلق اور واسطہ ہے ۔ ہمیں معلوم ہے کہ وہ سرکاری افسروں کے ذریعہ دباؤ ڈال کر ووٹ حاصل کرنا چاہتے ہیں ۔ لیکن میں سرکاری افسروں سے کہنا چاہتی ہوں کہ وہ ضمیر کی آزادی کے خلاف کام نہ کریں ۔ عوام اس لئے ان کا خرچ (تنخواہیں) برداشت نہیں کرتے کہ وہ جانبداری برتیں اور عوام کی خواہشات کے خلاف کام کریں ۔

(مادر ملت نے خواتین سے مخاطب ہو کر کہا) آپ میں بیداری کی لہر نیک فال ہے ۔ آپ اپنے بچوں کو مجبور کریں کہ وہ حق کا ساتھ دیں ۔ آپ دیکھیں کہ آپ کے آدمی ووٹ کا غلط استعمال نہ کریں“ ۔

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164. SPEECH AT BAHAWALPUR BAR ASSOCIATION, 1964

The following is the text of the speech made by Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah at a reception held in her honour by the Bahawalpur Bar Association in December, 1964.

(Editor)

"I have been overwhelmed by the amount of support I have received from the Bar Associations all over the country. I do not belong to school of thought where pleader politicians are looked upon with respect, on the other hand being the sister of a lawyer, Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who sponsored and developed the Pakistan Movement and ultimately achieved the object of the hundred million Muslims of this sub-continent I have always felt that the contribution of the lawyers in the achievement of Pakistan has been great.

I, therefore, always looked upon the members of the Bar as a pillar of strength to the country, for this reason I feel extremely happy to be amidst the members of the Bar. They are intellectually well—equipped to shoulder the responsibilities of a complex political life. The ensuing election in the country pose a big challenge to the intellectuals of Pakistan to ensure that the members of the Electoral College exercise their right to vote in accordance with the desire and dictates of the people who elected them.

DEMOCRACY

During my recent tours of Pakistan I have noticed that an overwhelming majority of Bar Associations is dedicated to the objective of triumph of democracy over dictatorship, of good over evil, of clean administration over the corrupt regime and of the supremacy of the will of the people over the will of an individual. I have no doubt in my mind that if the adult franchise has been the basis of the people's desire in the ensuing Presidential Election the verdict was overwhelmingly in favour of democracy.

Undoubtedly members of the Electoral College being the elected representatives of the areas to which they belong must necessarily reflect the will and aspirations of the people. Attempts are being made employing all sorts of machinations to misguide the members of the Electoral College and to make them the victims of an individual's will over people's aspirations.

I have no doubt that the members of the Electoral College will honour their pledge to their own electorates and support the cause of the people against those who stand in the way of people's right.

PRESTIGE

Might has long ceased to be the source of power. It is most unfortunate that events of October, 1958, have lowered the prestige of Pakistan in democratic countries to such an extent that it was never lowered. Today we have to hang our heads in shame when we meet democratic people of the world because we have to admit that our will does not matter in this country. The force that has succeeded in silencing the will of the people on October 8, 1958, must be compelled to give place to the desire of people to govern themselves in their own way.

Never again force be allowed to emerge triumphant against the will of the people as it did on October 8, 1958. It is extremely degrading for the people of the country to wake up one fine morning to know the Government of yesterday has changed not because the people expressed their will in some form or other but because some individual managed to organise force that prevailed. This has brought about instability. Constitutional deviation of a Government in the face of the events of October 8, 1958.

STABILITY

This state of affairs must be changed and stability must be restored. In Pakistan, we have to work very hard to catch up with the developed world for achieving the maximum development. This can be achieved only with a complete support of the people. It is necessary that the people should be made aware of their strength as well as utility to the country. People are not as powerless as some may assume them to be. People know how to unite and rise to crush the onslaught against their will.

I have no hesitation in saying that this impression should be dispelled. It is difficult to envisage situation wherein every now and then people must submit and surrender to an individual will. Maximum development of the country is only possible if the entire nation lends its backings to a Government of their own.

For a prosperous Pakistan, the shoulders of the people of the country must be put on the wheel of prosperity and progress not for the benefit of one or a few individuals but for the good of the common man.

One inescapable consequence of the present unresponsive system is that absolute power has corrupted absolutely and today corruption is so widespread

that it is a national menace which can bring about a serious disaster. It is, therefore, the duty of the people to get rid of it before it suffocates the nation altogether.

INJUSTICES

The lawyers and other intellectuals must do their duty to the people and the nation by exposing corrupt people regardless of their position and status. As a matter of fact higher the status of a corrupt person greater is the need to expose him because he can prove as much harmful. Corruption brings in its trail injustices and inequalities and the deserving people are deprived of their due share in the resources of the country.

These injustices and inequalities must be ended. It is the duty of the members of the Electoral College who have been elected by the people to reflect their will and help end a system that has given Pakistan a bad name and dark future. Any other course will be disastrous for the nation. During the ensuing Presidential Election the people in general and the intellectuals, like lawyers in particular should exert their best influence on the members of Electoral College and march triumphantly together towards their goal of democracy. I thank you gentlemen for giving me this opportunity to address you this morning and I hope that you will carry out the demands of the people for the restoration of their democratic rights."

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165. STATEMENT AT A CONFRONTATION MEETING, 1964

The following is the text of the statement which Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah made at the first Presidential Election Confrontation Meeting held at Rawalpindi, in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

"Honourable Members of the Electoral College.

This is the first confrontation meeting arranged by the Election Commission to enable the Presidential candidates to explain their policy and programme to you. I was looking forward to meeting you but the arrangements for the meeting have been so defective and so many obstructions have been placed in the way that my faith in the whole process has been shaken. I shall relate to you briefly what has happened so that you might judge for yourself the discourteous manner in which I have been treated and how the administration and the Convention League have conspired to defeat the purpose for which these meetings are being held.

On 3rd December as I was leaving Karachi for a previously announced tour I received a message from Election Commission asking me whether I would address a confrontation meeting in Rawalpindi on the 8th of December? It was stated that the meeting will commence at 9-30 a.m. at the stadium but the order and the time at which each individual candidate would address the meeting was not stated. I had to cut down my tour programme and to reach Rawalpindi on the 7th evening, On my way to Rawalpindi in the train some Members of the Electoral College met me and showed me an invitation card from the Convention Muslim League dated December 3 which was distributed to them through the District authorities.

INVITATION

The card invited them to reach Rawalpindi at 11 a.m. on December 8 in order to listen to an address by Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan at the stadium at 1 p.m. The invitation also stated that arrangements had been made by buses for their journey from various places in the Gujrat district, that they would be entertained to a lunch by the Convention Muslim League at the stadium, and would receive Rs. 25 as travelling allowance for the meeting.

On arrival in Rawalpindi I made inquiries from the Election Commission as regards the time of my addressing the meeting. I was told that it would be in the morning either from 9-30 to 10-45 a.m. *or from 10-45 to 12. noon.*

I also learnt that the Election Commission had issued no personal invitations to the Members of the Electoral College from the various districts who were expected to attend the meeting in Rawalpindi on 8th December. The Commission had contended itself with a public notice of the meeting through a press release.

I also learnt in Rawalpindi that transport arrangements for Members of Electoral College from Sargodha, Mianwali, Jhang, Lyallpur and other towns were such that it was impossible for many of them to reach Rawalpindi in time to attend either of the morning meetings. While I had been kept in the dark as to the exact time at which I was to address the meeting the Convention League had been informed before 3rd December as to the time when Muhammad Ayub Khan would address the meeting and had in concert with the District authorities taken steps to prevent a large number cf Members of the Electoral College from attending the meeting which I was to address.

I, therefore, informed the Election Commission that I shall be prepared to address the meeting in the afternoon from 2-45 to 4 p.m. but not in the morning. The Commission informed me late at night that they would give me a reply this morning. This morning I have been told that the Commission cannot accept my request.

I must enter the strongest protest against the manner in which I have been treated by the Election Commission that I shall be intrigued by the Convention League and the Government in order to frustrate the object of these meetings.

Other events have also taken place to reinforce my protest. On the eve of the Confrontation Meeting one of the Presidential Candidates has exercised his ordinance making power to deprive the people of their right to hear the Presidential Candidates because he was afraid of facing them. The opportunity of simultaneous confrontation by all the candidates which was afforded during the last Assembly Elections has been denied in this Presidential Election. If there had been simultaneous confrontation the designs of one political party to prevent members of the Electoral College from attending the meeting could not have taken place.

I have travelled a long distanoe to address you who have come from far flung areas. Many of you are still on your way to this meeting. In fairness to those who have been deprived an opportunity of hearing both sides, I have decided, as a mark of protest, not to deliver my address at this meeting. The proper thing is that the programme for future meetings should be arranged by mutual consultation."

166. SPEECH AT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CONFRONTATION MEETING HELD AT PESHAWAR, 1964

Madar-i-Millat made the following speech at the Confrontation Meeting at *Peshawar* in *December, 1964.*

(*Editor*)

(محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے رائے دہندگان سے خطاب کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ) قبائلی عوام کو بھی وہی حقوق حاصل ہونے چاہئیں جو طے شدہ علاقوں میں ان کے بھائیوں کو حاصل ہیں ۔ (انہوں نے کہا کہ) میں قبائلی علاقوں میں پولٹیکل ایجنٹوں کی حکومت کی مخالف ہوں ۔

(تعارفی جلسے کا سہ پہر کا اجلاس شدید بارش کی وجہ سے آدھ گھنٹہ دیر سے شروع ہوا ۔ مادر ملت نے اپنی پندرہ منٹ کی فی البدیہہ اردو تقریر میں کہا) مجھے افسوس ہے کہ ممبروں کو بارش اور خرابی موسم کا سامنا کرنا پڑا ۔ لیکن بارش بھی خدا کی رحمت ہوتی ہے ۔ میں اقتدار حاصل کرنے یا متحدہ مخالف محاذ کے لیڈروں کو عہدے دلانے کے لئے انتخاب نہیں لڑ رہی بلکہ میں نے قوم کی آواز پر لبیک کہا ہے اور میں قوم کی پکار کا جواب دینا اپنا فرض سمجھتی ہوں ۔ اگر اس مرحلے پر میں قوم کی آواز پر لبیک نہ کہتی تو میں اس کا کفارہ کبھی ادا نہ کر سکتی ۔

عام طور پر کہا جاتا ہے کہ قوم متفقہ طور پر میرا احترام کرتی ہے اس لئے مجھے اختلافی موضوع نہیں بننا چاہئے لیکن میں محض یہ احترام برقرار رکھنے کے لئے اپنے فرض سے کوتاہی نہیں کر سکتی ۔ پچھلے چھ برس سے ملک میں مسلسل جبر و تشدد ہو رہا ہے (اس دعوے کا حوالہ دیتے ہوئے کہ پچھلے چھ برس کے دوران ملک میں زبردست ترقی ہوئی ہے

فاطمہ جناح نے کہا کہ) ایک قوم کی ترقی کے چار پہلو ہوتے ہیں جن میں
معاشرتی ، اقتصادی ، تعلیمی اور سیاسی ترقی شامل ہوتی ہے ۔ (ان پہلوؤں سے
ملک کے حالات کا تجزیہ کرتے ہوئے فاطمہ جناح نے کہا کہ) پاکستان
نے معاشرتی میدان میں کوئی ترقی نہیں کی بلکہ اس سلسلے میں تنزل ہوا
ہے ۔ بد عنوانیاں اور بے قاعدگیاں تناسب سے زیادہ بڑھ گئی ہیں ۔ جہاں
تک تعلیم کا تعلق ہے ، معیار کچھ اور گر گیا ہے ۔ نظام تعلیم ایسا ہے کہ
اس کے تحت تعلیم حاصل کرنے والے ذمہ داریاں قبول کرنے کے لئے پوری
طرح تیار نہیں ہوتے ۔ بد عنوانی تعلیم کے میدان میں بھی پھیل گئی ہے ایسی
تعلیم کا کیا فائدہ ہے (فاطمہ جناح نے پوچھا کہ) کتنے نئے سکول
کھولے گئے اور کتنے بچے سکولوں میں داخلہ نہیں لے سکے؟ (اقتصادی
ترقی کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے انہوں نے کہا کہ) پاکستان کی آبادی کا
ایک بڑا حصہ ایک وقت کی روٹی سے بھی محروم ہے ۔ ان کے پاس کپڑے
نہیں ہیں اور جب وہ بیمار ہوتے ہیں تو انہیں طبی سہولتیں نہیں ملتیں ۔ کیا
یہ ترقی ہے ؟ حکمران نے اپنے آپ کو ترقی دی ہے انہوں نے چند ایسے
خالدالوں کو جنہوں نے جائز یا ناجائز طریقے سے دولت جمع کی مزید
دولت مند بنایا ہے ۔ انہوں نے صنعتیں قائم کی ہیں اور فیکٹریاں بنائی ہیں
میں حکومت اسلئے بدلنا چاہتی ہوں تاکہ ترقی سے تمام شہری یکساں
طور پر مستفید ہو سکیں ۔ تمام شہریوں کو ان کی حالت بہتر بنانے کے لئے
مساوی مواقع فراہم کئے جائیں ۔ پاکستان چند افراد کی بہبود کے لئے نہیں
بنایا گیا تھا بلکہ آزادی کا ثمر سب کو برابر ملنا چاہیئے تھا ۔ موجودہ
حکومت کے دور میں عوام اس قدر دبے ہوئے ہیں کہ کوئی شخص سچ
بولنے کی جرأت نہیں کر سکتا لوگوں کے ضمیر کو خریدنے کی کوشش
کی گئی اور آزادانہ معاشرتی میل ملاپ کی اجازت نہیں دی گئی ۔ جن لوگوں
نے حزب اختلاف کے لیڈروں سے ملاقات کی ، پولیس نے ان سے با قاعدہ
پوچھ گچھ کی ۔ صدر ایوب ملک پر پولیس کے ذریعے حکومت کرنا چاہتے

ہیں ۔ اور آج حکومت اور عوام کے درمیان خلیج حائل ہے لیکن اس صورت حال کو زیادہ دیر تک برداشت نہیں کیا جائے گا ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان ساری انتظامیہ کو اپنی انتخابی مہم کے لئے استعمال کر رہے ہیں انہوں نے صنعت کاروں کو بھی اپنے انتخابی فنڈ میں کروڑوں روپے دینے پر مجبور کیا ہے اور میرا وسیلہ صرف عوام ہیں جنہیں ساتھ لے کر میں کام کر رہی ہوں ۔ مجھے جو عوامی حمایت حاصل ہے اس پر مجھے فخر ہے ۔ مجھے نہ روپیہ درکار ہے اور نہ انتظامیہ کی امداد کی ضرورت ہے ۔ عوام ملک کے اصل مالک ہیں اور ساری قومی دولت ان ہی کی ہے ۔

(محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے بنیادی جمہوریتوں کے ممبروں سے کہا کہ وہ) عوام کی خواہشات کے مطابق ووٹ دیں اور اب یہ بات سب پر آشکارا ہو چکی ہے کہ عوام کیا چاہتے ہیں قائد اعظم نے آزادی کے بعد جو پہلا قدم اٹھایا وہ یہ تھا کہ انہوں نے قبائلی علاقہ سے فوج کو ہٹا لیا ۔ ان کا خیال تھا کہ اپنے مسلمان بھائیوں میں فوج کو رکھنے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے ۔ انہیں اس بات کا یقین تھا کہ قبائلی عوام ملک کے دوسرے حصوں میں آباد اپنے بھائیوں کے ساتھ جئیں گے اور ان ہی کے ساتھ مریں گے ۔ میں چاہتی ہوں کہ قبائلیوں کو بھی وہی حقوق حاصل ہوں ۔ جو ملک کے دوسرے علاقوں کے لوگوں کو حاصل ہیں ۔ میں قبائلیوں کے اوپر پولیٹیکل ایجنٹوں کی حکومت کے خلاف ہوں ۔ (انہوں نے اس اعتراض کا جواب دیتے ہوئے کہ ان کی حمایت کرنے والی بعض پارٹیاں پاکستان کی مخالف ہیں ۔ انہوں نے کہا) یہ بات میری سمجھ میں نہیں آئی کہ جو لوگ گذشتہ سولہ سال سے وفادار شہری کی حیثیت سے پاکستان میں رہتے آئے ہیں ، انہیں پاکستان کا دشمن کیونکر قرار دیا جا سکتا ہے ۔ میں ایک محبِ وطن ہوں اور کوئی شخص جو ملک کا دشمن ہو میری حمایت نہیں کر سکتا ۔ اگر کچھ لوگ ملک کے دشمن تھے اور میں نے ان کو ملک کا دوست بنا لیا ہے تو میں نے کوئی غلط بات نہیں کی ہے ۔

صدر نے بھی ان لوگوں کی حمایت حاصل کرنے کے لئے بات چیت کی تھی جو آج میری حمایت کر رہے ہیں ۔ جب انہوں نے بات چیت کی تھی تو یہ لوگ پاکستان کے دوست تھے اور آج وہی لوگ میری حمایت کر رہے ہیں تو انہیں وطن دشمن کہا جا رہا ہے ۔ صدر ایوب نے اپنے مشرقی پاکستان کے حالیہ دورے میں مولانا بھاشانی سے ملاقات کرنے کی کوشش کی اور مولانا بھاشانی کے علاج کے لئے جو نیشنل عوامی پارٹی کے لیڈر ہیں اپنا ذاتی معالج بھیجنے کی بھی کوشش کی تھی ۔ یہ بات کہی جا رہی ہے کہ مشترکہ حزب اختلاف مجھے استعمال کر رہی ہے اور میرے پاس اپنی کوئی سوجھ بوجھ نہیں ہے ۔ قائد اعظم ہمیشہ اپنی مرضی کے مطابق سوچتے اور عمل کرتے تھے اور دنیا کا کوئی شخص انہیں خرید نہیں سکتا تھا ۔ میں اسی شخص کی بہن ہوں اور مجھے بھی دنیا کی کوئی طاقت خرید نہیں سکتی ۔ میں وہ فرض ادا کر رہی ہوں جو قوم کی طرف سے مجھ پر عائد ہوتا ہے ۔ مجھے بڑی پریشانی کا سامنا کرنا پڑ رہا ہے ۔ میں تھکا دینے والے دورے کر رہی ہوں ۔ مجھ پر کیچڑ بھی اچھالی جا رہی ہے اور میں ملک اور قوم کی خاطر یہ سارا کچھ برداشت کر رہی ہوں ۔ اس لئے کہ میں نے ملک میں جمہوریت بحال کرنے کا تہیہ کر لیا ہے ۔

میں نے سنا ہے مسٹر ایوب خاں نے کہا ہے کہ میں ضعیف ہوں اور امور مملکت سے ناواقف ہوں ۔ (انہوں نے کہا کہ) جو سیاست میں جانتی ہوں وہ مسٹر ایوب خاں نہیں جانتے ۔ ممکن ہے وہ جنگی چالوں کے ماہر ہوں لیکن وہ سیاست نہیں جانتے ۔

(محترمہ فاطمہ جناح کی تقریر کے دوران مسلسل بارش ہوتی رہی ۔ ان کی تقریر ختم ہونے پر صدر جلسہ مسٹر جسٹس اقبال نے حاضرین سے سوال کرنے کو کہا ۔ محترمہ فاطمہ جناح کے ساتھیوں نے بلند آواز میں کہا کہ ہمیں مادر ملت پر مکمل اعتماد ہے اور ہم ان سے کوئی سوال کرنا

نہیں چاہتے ۔ مسٹر جسٹس اقبال نے اعلان کیا کہ اگر ایک شخص بھی ایسا موجود ہے جو سوال کرنا چاہتا ہے تو وقفہ سوالات کے مقررہ طریقے پر عمل کیا جائے گا ۔ محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے پانچ سوالوں کے جواب دیئے ۔ محترمہ فاطمہ جناح سے پوچھا گیا کہ طلباء پر لاٹھی چارج کے سلسلے میں آپ کیا اقدام اٹھائیں گی ۔ انہوں نے کہا اگر میں منتخب ہو گئی تو مارچ میں اپنے عہدے کا چارج لوں گی فی‌الحال یہ ذمہ داری آپ کی ہے ۔ انہوں نے ایک اور سوال کے جواب میں کہا کہ جس روز پاکستان قائم ہوا تھا اسی دن یہ طے ہو چکا تھا کہ یہ ایک اسلامی مملکت ہوگی ۔ محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے ایک سوال کے جواب میں کہا کہ میرے انتخاب جیتنے کے بعد انشاءاللہ ان جماعتوں کے درمیان کوئی اختلاف نہیں ہوں گے جو اس وقت حزب اختلاف میں شامل ہیں ۔ انہوں نے ایک یونٹ اور عائلی قوانین کے بارے میں کہا کہ میں ڈکٹیٹر نہیں ہوں ہر مسئلے کا فیصلہ عوام کی خواہشات کے مطابق ہوگا ۔ حزب اختلاف کی صدارتی امیدوار نے ایک سوال کے جواب میں کہا کہ میں اتنی بڑی تنخواہ نہیں لوں گی جتنی فیلڈ مارشل لے رہے ہیں) ۔

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167. SPEECH AT GOL BAGH, LAHORE, 1964

Madar-i-Millat delivered the following brief speech at Gol Bagh, Lahore in December, 1964. This was her second address as the Presidential Candidate to the Citizens of Lahore. She addressed them in Urdu.

(Editor)

(مادر ملت نے صدر ایوب خاں کی (۱۱ - دسمبر کی) تقریر کا حوالہ دیتے ہوئے کہا) ان کا خیال ہے کہ میں حکومت کی ذمہ داریوں کا بوجھ اٹھا نہیں سکوں گی - مگر میں ان کو بتانا چاہتی ہوں کہ جتنی قوت ایمانی مجھ میں ہے صدر ایوب میں نہیں - میں قوت ایمانی لے کر اٹھی ہوں - میں اکیلی تو نہیں ہوں - اتنے سارے لوگوں کے کندھے میرے ساتھ ہیں -

میں یہ دیکھ کر بےحد خوش ہوں کہ آپ میں جوش وخروش ہے اور جمہوریت کے حصول کی جد و جہد میں آپ ہمارے ساتھ ہیں - میں جہاں بھی گئی ہوں ، میں نے عوام کو جمہوریت کا حامی پایا - (محترمہ نے آواز بلند کرتے ہوئے کہا) - جب لوگ اتنی بڑی تعداد میں جمہوریت کا نعرہ لگا رہے ہیں تو مسٹر ایوب کون ہیں جو آمریت ہمارے اوپر مسلط رکھ سکیں - یہ ملک عوام کا ہے اور وہی یہ فیصلہ کرنے کے مجاز ہیں کہ اس کا حکمران کون ہو؟ میں یہ دیکھ کر بےحد مطمئن ہوں کہ دس ماہ کے قلیل عرصہ میں آپ لوگ صورت حال کو اچھی طرح سمجھ گئے ہیں اور اپنی رائے ظاہر کر دی ہے -

صدر ایوب چھ برس تک عوام کو کچلتے رہے اور یہ سمجھنے لگے کہ قوم ختم ہوچکی ہے - اب اگر الیکشن ہو تو میں جیت جاؤں گا مگر آپ کو یہ موقع ملا تو آپ نے بتا دیا کہ آپ زندہ ہیں ، بیدار ہیں اور آپ کو کوئی نہیں کچل سکتا - کہا جاتا ہے کہ میں سیاست کو نہیں سمجھتی - میں پوچھتی ہوں کہ ملٹری کے لوگ سیاست کیونکر سمجھ سکتے ہیں - ملٹری میں حکم چلانا اور بات ہے اور عوام کو ساتھ لے کر چلنا اور بات ہے - پھر صدر ایوب نے کہا کہ میں ہی سیاست کو سمجھتا ہوں اور ساری دنیا کی عقل میرے پاس ہے - (محترمہ نے پوچھا) جب ہی ملک کا یہ حال ہوگیا ہے کہ ہر طرف بد عنوانیاں پیدا ہو چکی ہیں - لوگوں کے

ضمیر خرید کر ان کو ضمیر فروش بنا دیا گیا ۔ اگر قوم کو اس طرح ختم کردیا جائے تو پھر ملک کو باقی رکھنے کا کیا فائدہ؟ قوم ہے تو ملک ہے قوم نہیں تو ملک نہیں ۔

ہم ایک بار پھر اس ملک کو آزاد کرائیں گے اور اس کے عوام کو آزادانہ زندگی بسر کرنے کا موقع دیں گے تاکہ لوگ عزت سے رہیں اور کوئی بلا وجہ ان کی عزت و آبرو کے درپے نہ ہو ۔ محترمہ نے کہا جب مسلمان عزم لے کر اٹھتا ہے تو آسے کوئی نہیں روک سکتا ۔ مجھے یقین ہے کہ جب تک آپ اپنا مقصد حاصل نہیں کریں گے چین سے نہیں بیٹھیں گے ۔

(محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے تقریر کے اختتام پر کہا کہ) آپ نے جو اتحاد قائم کیا ہے اسے ختم کرنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے مگر مجھے یقین ہے کہ آپ ان کوششوں کو ناکام بنا دیں گے ۔ اگر آپ نے اپنا اتحاد چھوڑا تو آپ کبھی کامیاب نہیں ہوں گے،، ۔

168. SPEECH AT THE THIRD CONFRONTATION MEETING AT LAHORE, 1964

Madar-i-Millat made the following speech at the Presidential Election Campaign Confrontation Meeting at Lahore, in December, 1964.

(Editor)

''وہ قوم جسے مردہ تصور کیا جاتا تھا تین ماہ سے زندہ ہو چکی ہے۔ اس قوم کو اب دنیا کی کوئی طاقت نہیں دبا سکتی۔ اگر کسی نے قوم کو دبانے کی کوشش کی تو میں اپنی جان تک دے دوں گی۔ (مادر ملت نے تالیوں کی گونج میں پارلیمانی نظام حکومت کی حمایت کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ) یہ نظام پاکستان میں نا کام نہیں ہوا۔ (آپ نے کہا) حکومت کو عوام اور ان کے نمائندوں کے سامنے جواب دہ ہونا چاہئے۔ عوام ہی ملک کے حقیقی مالک ہیں اور ملک کا نظم و نسق ان کی خواہشات کے مطابق ہی چلایا جا سکتا ہے۔

(مادر ملت تیسرے تعارفی جلسہ میں انتخابی ادارہ کے تقریباً آٹھ ہزار ارکان سے خطاب کر رہی تھیں۔ مادر ملت جلسہ میں تقریباً دس منٹ لیٹ پہنچیں۔ جب آپ جلسہ گاہ میں داخل ہوئیں تو ارکان نے پرجوش تالیوں سے ان کا استقبال کیا۔ مادر ملت نے نہری پانی کے معاہدے پر شدید نکتہ چینی کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ) موجودہ حکومت نے مقبوضہ کشمیر کے تین دریاؤں کا پانی بھارت کو استعمال کرنے کی اجازت دے دی ہے۔ حالانکہ پاکستان کے لوگ ریاست کشمیر کو آزاد کرانے کے لئے جدو جہد مین مصروف ہیں۔ آپ نے کہا بھارت نے متبادل تعمیرات کے لئے پچاس کروڑ روپے ادا کئے ہیں اور اس کے عوض اسے چناب، جہلم اور سندھ کا پانی استعمال کرنے کی اجازت دے دی گئی ہے۔ اس معاہدے سے پاکستان کو کوئی فائدہ نہیں پہنچا۔ منگلا ڈیم اور تربیلا ڈیم جو معاہدے کے تحت تعمیر کئے جا رہے ہیں، ماہرین کی رائے کے مطابق صرف پچاس سال تک کام آ سکیں گے اس کے بعد تمام ملک بنجر بن جائے گا۔ یہ سب کچھ ایک شخص کی بدولت ہوگا۔

(مادر ملت نے کہا) ملک میں جو صدارتی انتخاب ہو رہا ہے وہ در اصل دو نظریات میں مقابلہ ہے۔ میں دورہ پر جہاں کہیں بھی گئی ہوں لوگوں نے زبردست

اکثریت سے پارلیمانی نظام جمہوریت کے حق میں اپنا فیصلہ دیا ہے۔ ہر شخص جانتا ہے کہ موجودہ آئین کس طرح معرض وجود میں آیا ۔ ایک آئینی کمیشن قائم کیا گیا تھا جس نے ایک سال تک ملک کے طول و عرض کا دورہ کرنے کے بعد اپنی رپورٹ تیار کی ۔ یہ رپورٹ مسترد کر دی گئی ۔ ایک شخص نے موجودہ آئین تیار کیا جس میں تمام اختیارات ایک شخص کے ھاتھ میں دے دئے گئے ۔ اس میں شک نہیں کہ اسمبلیاں بھی موجود ھیں لیکن انہیں بھی کوئی اختیار نہیں ۔ صرف ایک تہائی بجٹ پر رائے شماری ھو سکتی ہے باقی دو تہائی پر اسمبلی کا کوئی اختیار نہیں ۔ لوگوں کو جن کے ٹیکسوں سے خزانہ بھرتا ہے یہ معلوم ھی نہیں کہ ان کا روپیہ کہاں اور کیسے خرچ ھو رہا ہے ۔ (آپ نے کہا) اگر میں بر سر اقتدار آ گئی تو تمام بجٹ کو اسمبلی کی منظوری کے تابع بنا دیا جائے گا ۔ (آپ نے کہا) پارلیمانی سیکرٹریوں کی فوج مقرر کر کے اکثریت بنائی گئی ہے ۔ پارلیمانی نظام میں وزیراعظم ہوتا ہے ۔ صدر ہوتا ہے اور اسمبلیوں میں عوام کے نمائندے ہوتے ھیں ۔ حکومت کو عوام اور ان کے نمائندوں کے سامنے جواب دہ ھونا چاھئے ۔ اگر ملک میں پارلیمانی نظام حکومت ھوتا تو یہ صورت حال کبھی پیدا نہ ھوتی ۔

(صدارتی انتخاب کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے مادر ملت نے کہا) انتخابی ادارہ کے ارکان ملک کے مستقبل کے ضامن ھیں ۔ ان پر قوم کی قسمت کا فیصلہ کرنے کی بھاری ذمہ داری عائد ھوتی ہے ۔ اگر انتخابی ادارہ کے ارکان نے اپنے ووٹ کا غلط استعمال کیا اور موجودہ حکومت کو جاری رہنے دیا تو وہ ملک کو شدید نقصان پہنچائیں گے ۔ اس وقت حالت یہ ہے کہ اخبارات کی آزادی چھین لی گئی ہے ۔ تحریر و تقریر اور اجتماع کی آزادی سلب کر لی گئی ہے حکومت نے پریس ٹرسٹ قائم کر کے کئی اخبارات پر اپنا کنٹرول جما لیا ہے ۔ جو اخبار رہ گئے ھیں ان کے اشتہار بند کئے جا رہے ھیں اور انہیں ضمانت ضبط کرنے کی دھمکیاں دی جا رھی ھیں ۔ (مادر ملت نے کہا) جب تک اخبارات آزاد نہ ھوں قوم آزاد نہیں ھو سکتی ۔ کیونکہ اخبار عوام کے جذبات اور ان کی امنگوں کے ترجمان ھوتے ھیں ۔ اگر اخبارات کا گلا گھونٹ دیا جائے تو عوام کی آواز کیسے سنی جا سکتی ہے ۔

ملک میں اظہار خیال کی بھی آزادی نہیں یہاں تک کہ انتخابات کے دنوں میں بھی بعض مقامات پر جلسے کرنے کی اجازت نہیں دی جاتی ۔ لاؤڈ سپیکر کے استعمال پر پابندی ہے ۔ انتخابات کے لئے تمام امیدواروں کو مساوی سہولتیں ملنی چاھئیں ۔

(گذ شتہ چھ سال کے واقعات پر روشنی ڈالتے ہوئے مادر ملت نے کہا) رشوت‌ستانی اور بد عنوانیوں کا دور دورہ ہے لوگوں کا ضمیر خریدنے کی کوشش کی جاتی ہے لیکن تین ماہ قبل تک جو قوم مردہ تھی وہ اب پھر جاگ چکی ہے۔ اب کوئی طاقت اسے نہیں دبا سکتی۔ اگر قوم کو دبانے کی کوشش کی گئی تو میں جان تک دے دوں گی۔

(مادر ملت نے کہا) انتخابی ادارہ کے ارکان کا ووٹ ایک قومی امانت ہے اسے ووٹروں کی خواہش اور قوم کے مفاد کے مطابق استعمال کیجئے۔ اگر انہوں نے ووٹ کا استعمال صحیح طور پر نہ کیا تو تمام قوم اور آنے والی نسلوں کو مدتوں تک مظالم برداشت کرنے پڑیں گے۔ موجودہ حکومت نے اپنے دریا بھارت کے پاس فروخت کر دیئے ہیں۔ دنیا کی کوئی قوم اپنے پانی کے حقوق کسی قیمت پر فروخت نہیں کرتی۔ اور کوئی قوم یہ یقین نہیں کر سکتی کہ کسی ملک نے اپنے دریا فروخت کر دیئے ہیں۔ دریاؤں کو قوموں کی زندگی میں شہ رگ کی حیثیت حاصل ہوتی ہے۔ جن ملکوں کے پاس اپنے دریا نہیں وہ ہی اندازہ لگا سکتے ہیں کہ ملکوں کو پانی کے بغیر کیا دشواریاں پیش آتی ہیں۔ لیکن ایسا فیصلہ ایک شخصی حکومت ہی کر سکتی تھی، کوئی نمائندہ حکومت ایسا قدم نہیں اٹھا سکتی تھی"۔

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169. SPEECH AT CONFRONTATION MEETING AT MULTAN, 1964

Madar-i-Millat made the following speech at the Presidential Election Campaign Confrontation Meeting held at Multan, in December, 1964.

(Editor)

''ایک شخص پر استحکام کا انحصار پاکستان کے لئے زبردست خطرہ ہے اور ایسے نظام کو یقیناً تبدیل کرنے کی ضرورت ہے جس میں ملک کے استحکام کا انحصار فردواحد پر ہو ۔ قائداعظم اس ملک میں عوام کی حکومت قائم کرنا چاہتے تھے ۔ میرے نظریات اور اصول وہی ہیں جو قائداعظم کے تھے ۔ میں بھی عوام کی حکومت بحال کرنے کے لئے میدان میں نکلی ہوں اور اس کے لئے کسی قربانی سے دریغ نہیں کروں گی ۔

(مادر ملت کو جلوس کی صورت میں جلسہ گاہ میں لایا گیا ۔ جب آپ جلسہ گاہ کے باہر پہنچیں تو انہیں گولوں سے سلامی دی گئی ۔ مادر ملت نے تالیوں کی گونج میں اپنی تقویر کا آغاز کرتے ہوئے کہا) مجھے افسوس ہے کہ مجھے یہاں آئے ہوئے دس منٹ گزر گئے ہیں لیکن ابھی جلسہ کی کارروائی شروع نہیں ہوئی ۔ یہ بدانتظامی کا نتیجہ ہے کہ جلسہ میں غیر متعلقہ لوگ بیٹھے ہیں ۔ (آنہوں نے کہا) آپ کو معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ سولہ سال سے میں نے سیاست میں کوئی حصہ نہیں لیا ۔ جب پاکستان قائم ہوا تو اس کے بعد میں نے سیاست سے کنارہ کسی کر لی کیونکہ میں چاہتی تھی کہ دوسرے لوگ سامنے آئیں اور کام کریں ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں کہتے ہیں کہ میں اتنے عرصے کے بعد کیوں میدان میں آئی ہوں اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ سولہ سال تک میں اس امید پر گوشہ نشین رہی کہ حکومت کے کاروبار میں عوام کو شریک کیا جائے گا ، ملک ترقی کرے گا ، جمہوریت کو فروغ حاصل ہوگا اور عوام کے فائدے کے لئے قانون بنائے جائیں گے اور بیرونی ملکوں میں پاکستان کا وقار بڑھے گا لیکن آپ جانتے ہیں کہ آپ کے ساتھ کیا کیا گیا ۔ چھ سال قبل ملک میں جو کچھ ہوا ، اس سے آپ اچھی طرح واقف ہیں ۔ اس سے قبل اسمبلی عوام کے سامنے جواب دہ تھی ، اسمبلیوں کے ارکان کو عوام کے سامنے جانا اور انہیں سمجھانا پڑتا تھا اور ان کے سامنے جواب دہ ہونا

پڑتا تھا لیکن مارشل لاء کے بعد نیا نظام معرض وجود میں آیا اور مارشل لاء کے پردہ میں ملک میں آمریت قائم کردی گئی ۔ اس کے بعد جو آئین بنا وہ ایک شخص کی تخلیق تھی ۔ اسمبلیوں کو کوئی اختیار نہیں اور وہ عوام کے سامنے جواب دہ بھی نہیں (مادر ملت نے کہا) یہ اسمبلیاں جو کچھ کرتی ہیں وہ عوام کو منظور نہیں ۔ یہ جمہوریت نہیں بلکہ آمریت ہے ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں اسے جمہوریت کا نام دیتے ہیں لیکن میں پوچھتی ہوں کہ یہ کیسی جمہوریت ہے جس میں عوام کو بولنے کا حق نہیں ۔ یہ جمہوریت دنیا کے کس ملک میں رائج ہے ؟

(مادر ملت نے کہا) میں سولہ سال سے اس لئے گوشہ نشین تھی کہ مجھے عوام کی بھلائی کی توقع تھی اور اس کے برعکس یہ دیکھئے کہ گذشتہ چھ سال میں یہاں کیا کھیل کھیلا گیا ۔ سیاسی پارٹیاں ختم کردی گئیں لیکن اب جب کہ انتخابات قریب آ گئے اور مسٹر ایوب خاں نے دوبارہ اقتدار پر قبضہ کرنا چاہا تو انہیں سیاسی جماعتوں کے سہارے کی ضرورت محسوس ہوئی چنانچہ اس ضرورت کے پیش نظر سیاسی جماعتیں بحال کردی گئیں لیکن ان پر بہت سی پابندیاں لگا دی گئیں ۔ (مادر ملت نے کہا) کچھ عرصہ قبل دوسری جماعتوں کے کارکن میرے پاس آئے ۔ انہوں نے مجھ سے کہا کہ قوم میری منتظر ہے اور چاہتی ہے کہ میں عملی میدان میں نکل کر ان کا ساتھ دوں ۔ (مادر ملت نے کہا) جب میں نے یہ دیکھا کہ عوام نے مجھے پکارا ہے ۔ قوم کو میری خدمت کی ضرورت محسوس ہوئی ہے تو میں اس آواز پر لبیک کہہ کر میدان میں نکل آئی ۔ میں صرف قوم کے لئے میدان میں آئی ہوں (آپ نے کہا) میں قوم ہی کے لئے تکالیف برداشت کر رہی ہوں ۔ قوم ہی کے لئے مجھے تھکا دینے والے دورے کرنے پڑتے ہیں ۔ قوم ہی کے لئے میں مسلسل سفر کر رہی ہوں لیکن جوں جوں میری تکلیف بڑھتی ہے اللہ تعالیٰ اتنی ہی مجھے قوت بھی عطا فرماتے ہیں ۔ میں صرف آپ کی بہتری کے لئے میدان میں نکلی ہوں ۔ سوال کیا جاتا ہے کہ میں پہلے کیوں نہ میدان میں نکلی ۔ (آپ نے فرمایا) مجھے کرسی ، یا عہدہ یا دولت کا لالچ نہیں ہے ۔ میں ایک نظریہ لے کر آئی ہوں اور جمہوریت کی بحالی میرا نعرہ ہے ۔ ایسی جمہوریت جہاں ہر فیصلے کا حق عوام کو حاصل ہو اور وہ حکومت کے ہر کام میں شامل ہوں ۔ عوام کی خواہشات کا احترام کیا جائے اور ان کی مرضی کے بغیر کوئی ان پر مسلط نہ ہو سکے ۔

(مادر ملت نے کہا) ہر ملک میں نظم ونسق کا انحصار تین چیزوں پر ہوتا ہے ۔ مقننہ ، عدلیہ اور انتظامیہ ۔ ان تینوں کو آج ایک شخصی آئین کے تحت ایک ہاتھ میں دے دیا گیا ہے ۔ حالانکہ انہیں الگ الگ رہنا چاہئے اور وہ

الگ وہ کر ھی اپنے فرائض دیانتداری اور غیر جانبداری سے انجام دے سکتی ھیں ورنہ ملک کی ترقی رک جاتی ھے ۔ اگر ان تمام شعبوں کو ایک شخص کے ھاتھ میں دے دیا جائے تو ملک انتہائی مشکلات سے دو چار ھوگا اور کوئی مسئلہ حل نہیں ھو سکے گا اور یہ شخص ھمیشہ مداخلت کرتا رھے گا ۔

(مادر ملت نے کہا) پہلے حکمران طبقہ یہ دعویٰ کرتا تھا کہ ملک میں سیاسی جاعتوں کی ضرورت نہیں ۔ ھم سیاسی جماعتوں کے بغیر حکومت چلائیں گے ۔ مارشل لاء ختم ھونے کے بعد تھوڑا عرصہ تک انہوں نے سیاسی پارٹیوں کے بغیر کام چلایا ۔ آپ جانتے ھیں کہ اس ملک میں چار سال تک مارشل لاء نافذ رھا ۔ مارشل لاء ایک انتہائی قدم ھے اور صرف اس وقت نافذ کیا جاتا ھے جب کہ ملک میں ھنگامی صورت حال درپیش ھو اور وہ بھی کم سے کم عرصہ کے لئے ۔ لیکن یہاں ھم پر چار سال تک مارشل لاء مسلط رھا ۔ اس دوران عوام کی تمام آزادیاں سلب کر لی گئیں ۔ ان کی خواھشات اور ان کے احساسات کو کچل دیا گیا ۔ اس کے بعد جب مسٹر ایوب خان نے یہ محسوس کیا کہ انہیں دوبارہ برسر اقتدار آنے کے لئے سیاسی پارٹی کے سہارے کی ضرورت ھے تو انہوں نے مسلم لیگ کو دو حصوں میں تقسیم کردیا ۔ اور اس کا ایک ٹکڑا جبراً اپنے پاس رکھ لیا ۔ (مادر ملت نے دریافت کیا) کیا یہی سیاسی استحکام ھے کہ قائد اعظم کی جس جاعت نے پاکستان حاصل کیا اسے دو حصوں میں بانٹ دیا جائے ؟

(مادر ملت نے کہا) اگر مسٹر ایوب خان با اصول ھوتے تو انہیں ایسی صورت حال میں مستعفی ھو جانا چاھئے تھا ۔ ھم نے پاکستان کسی فرد واحد یا ایک خاص ٹولے کے لئے حاصل نہیں کیا تھا یہ ملک عوام کے لئے حاصل کیا تھا ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان نے قائد اعظم کی مسلم لیگ کو دو حصوں میں بانٹ کر اپنی پارٹی کا نام کنونشن مسلم لیگ رکھ لیا ۔ اور خود اسکے صدر بن بیٹھے اور اسکے ساتھ ساتھ صدر مملکت بھی ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان یہ سمجھتے ھیں کہ ایک سیاسی جاعت کا صدر بننا بائیں ھاتھ کا کرتب ھے ۔ حالانکہ سیاسی جاعت کا صدر بننے کے لئے ضروری ھے کہ وہ شخص دو آنے کا ممبر بنے ۔ اپنی جاعت کے لئے کارکن کی حیثیت سے کام کرے اور عوام کے دلوں پر اپنی صلاحیتوں کا سکہ بٹھا کر اپنے آپ کو صدر کے منصب کا اھل ثابت کرے لیکن مسٹر ایوب خان کی سیاست کیسی ھے کہ ملک کی صدارت کے ساتھ ساتھ گھر بیٹھے سیاسی جاعت کی قیادت بھی سنبھال لی ۔ اور اب مسٹر ایوب خان یہ دعویٰ کرتے ھیں کہ وہ ایک سیاسی جماعت کے مالک ھیں

اور اس سیاسی جماعت کے بل بوتے پر انتخاب لڑ رہے ہیں۔ جو شخص ذاتی مفاد کی خاطر ایک محب وطن جماعت کو دو حصوں میں تقسیم کردے اختلاف کو ہوا دے اور پھر سیاسی استحکام کا ڈھنڈورا پیٹے وہ کبھی کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتا۔ صحیح مسلم لیگ وھی ہے جسکے ساتھ قوم ہے ۔ اور جو اسوقت جمہوریت کی بحالی کے لئے متحدہ حزب اختلاف میں شامل ہے ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان یہ کہتے ہیں کہ متحدہ حزب اختلاف میں شامل پانچ سیاسی جماعتیں متحد نہیں ہیں اور یہ کہ انہوں نے مجھے آلہ' کار بنایا ہے ۔ اور یہ جماعتیں مجھے مصیبت میں ڈال دیں گی ۔ (مادر ملت نے پر جوش انداز میں کہا) میں کوئی بچہ نہیں میں نے زمانہ دیکھا ہے میں دنیا کی سیاست جانتی ہوں ۔ کون ہے جو مجھے آلہ' کار بنا سکے ؟ مجھے خریدا یا بہکایا نہیں جا سکتا ۔ میں کسی لالچ کے لئے میدان میں نہیں آئی آپ اچھی طرح جانتے ہیں کہ قائد اعظم کو بھارت میں کیا کچھ نہیں مل سکتا تھا لیکن انہوں نے اصول کی خاطر اور قوم کے مفاد کے پیش نظر ایسی تمام پیش کشوں کو حقارت کی نظر سے ٹھکرا دیا میں نے بھی قائد اعظم کے زیر سایہ تربیت حاصل کی ہے ۔ انکے ساتھ زندگی گذاری ہے میں اچھی طرح جانتی ہوں کہ میرا بھائی اصولوں کا کتنا پکا تھا اسکے دل میں قوم کا کتنا درد تھا ۔ میرے اصول بھی وھی ہیں جو قائداعظم کے تھے ۔ قائداعظم کے نقش قدم پر چلونگی اور عوام کی حکومت کی بحالی کے لئے کسی قربانی سے دریغ نہیں کرونگی ۔

مسٹر ایوب خاں کہتے ہیں کہ اگر انکی حکومت نہ رہی تو پاکستان کا استحکام ختم ہو جائے گا اگر اس ملک کے استحکام کا انحصار ایک شخص پر ہے تو یہ صورت ملک کے لئے بہت بڑا خطرہ ہے ۔ کوئی آدمی قیامت تک زندہ نہیں رہتا خدانخواستہ اگر مسٹر ایوب خاں نہ رہے تو پھر بقول انکے ملک تباہ ہو جائے گا ۔ کسے پتہ ہے کہ وہ کب تک زندہ رہتے ہیں ۔ زندگی کا کوئی بھروسہ نہیں کیوں نہ ہم اس نظام ھی کو بدل دیں جس میں ملک کے استحکام کا انحصار ایک فرد پر ہے ۔ کسی شخص کے ہونے یا نہ ہونے سے قوم کو کوئی فرق نہیں پڑتا ۔ کوئی رہے یا نہ رہے استحکام متاثر نہیں ہوتا ۔ قائد اعظم جب ہمیں چھوڑ کر چلے گئے تو پاکستان اسوقت بھی قائم رہا اور یہ ہمیشہ قائم رہے گا پاکستان کو کوئی ختم نہیں کر سکتا ۔ یہ ملک قائم رہنے کے لئے بنایا گیا تھا ۔ اس ملک کو اسلامی مملکت بننے کے لئے قائم کیا تھا ۔ ہم اسے کبھی ختم نہیں ہونے دیں گے ۔ ہم اس ملک کو مضبوط بنانا چاہتے ہیں ۔ وہ شخص اس ملک کو کیا استحکام دے گا جس کا اپنا

ذھن صاف نہ ھو۔ جس کے ارادے متزلزل ھوں۔ جو آئے دن فیصلے بدلتا اور آرڈیننس جاری کرتا ھے۔ جو حکمران متوازن ذھن نہ رکھتے ھوں وہ استحکام کا موجب نہیں بن سکتے - خدا کے فضل و کرم سے ھمارے ارادے پختہ اور ھمارے ذھن بالکل صاف ھیں۔ ھم انشاءاللہ اس جمہوریت کو قائم کرکے رھیں گے۔

حکمران طبقہ جو کچھ اخباروں میں شائع کراتا ھے اسپر ھرگز اعتبار نہ کریں۔ ان لوگوں نے اخباروں میں اشتہار چھپوائے ھیں جس میں مسٹر ایوب خاں کو ایک جھنڈے کے نیچے دکھایا گیا ھے دوسرا جھنڈا خدا معلوم کونسا جھنڈا ھے جسے میرا جھنڈا بنایا گیا ھے۔ میرا جھنڈا پاکستان کا جھنڈا ھے۔ سیاسی جماعتوں میں مختلف جھنڈے ھو سکتے ھیں لیکن میرا جھنڈا ایک ھی ھے۔ مسٹر ایوب خان نے لاھور کے تعارفی جلسہ میں مجھ پر یہ الزام لگایا تھا کہ میں اقتدار کی بھوکی ھوں۔ میں کہتی ھوں کہ وہ خود اقتدار کے بھوکے ھیں وہ اس ملک میں آمریت قائم کرنا چاھتے ھیں۔ جبکہ ھماری جنگ جمہوریت کے لئے ھے۔ ھم عوام کو انکے حقوق واپس دلانا چاھتے ھیں۔

(مادر ملت نے الزام لگایا کہ) اخبارات نے آنکی تقریریں غلط شائع کیں اور میں نے سوالات کے جو جواب دئے تھے انہیں غلط اور گمراہ کن عنوان لگا کر پیش کیا۔ اخباروں میں جو کچھ چھپا ھے آپ ان پر اعتبار نہ کریں۔ یہ انکے خریدے ھوے اخبار ھیں۔ یہ سب ٹرسٹ کے اخبار ھیں۔ یہ سب حکمران طبقہ کی ھاں میں ھاں ملاتے ھیں۔ انہیں کوئی آزادی حاصل نہیں۔ پاکستان میں اردو کا اخبار "نوائے وقت" ھی ھے جو ھمت کرکے سچی بات کہتا ھے۔ ٹرسٹ کے تمام اخبار گمراہ کن پروپیگنڈا کرتے ھیں۔ وہ یہ کہتے ھیں کہ ھم بنیادی جمہوریتوں کا نظام ختم کردیں گے حالانکہ ھم بار بار یہ اعلان کر چکے ھیں کہ اپوزیشن بنیادی جمہوریتوں کو مزید اختیارات دے گی اور انکو سرکاری مداخلت سے آزاد کرائے گی۔ ھم نامزدگیاں ختم کردیں گے اور اس نظام کو زیادہ با اختیار اور موثر بنائیں گے عوام نے آپکو ووٹ کا حق دیا ھے وہ آپ سے اس ووٹ کا حساب مانگیں گے۔ آپکو عوام کی خواھشات کا علم ھو چکا ھے یہ ووٹ آپکے پاس قوم کی امانت ھے اسے خوب سوچ سمجھکر استعمال کیجئے۔ اگر آپ نے سب کچھ معلوم ھونے کے بعد مسٹر ایوب خاں کو دوبارہ صدر منتخب کیا تو اس سے نہ صرف ملک اور قوم بلکہ آپ اور آپکے بال بچوں کو اس غلط انتخاب کا خمیازہ بھگتنا پڑے گا"۔

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170. SPEECH AT CONFRONTATION MEETING IN HYDERABAD

Madar-i-Millat delivered this speech at the Presidential Election campaign Confrontation Meeting arranged in Hyderabad in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

جو لوگ طلباء کو نہیں سنبھال سکتے وہ حکومت کرنے کے اہل نہیں ہیں۔ طلباء پر جبر و تشدد کیا جا رہا ہے ۔ مادر ملت نے یونیورسٹی آرڈی ننس کو ملک کا سیاہ ترین قانون قرار دیا ۔ اور اس کی فوری تنسیخ کا مطالبہ کیا ۔ انہوں نے کہا مجھ پر یہ الزام لگایا جاتا ہے کہ میں اقتدار کی بھوکی ہوں ۔ تمام قوم اس وقت جمہوریت کے لئے چلا رہی ہے ۔ کیا قوم بھی اقتدار کی بھوکی ہے ۔ (مادر ملت نے لوگوں سے کہا کہ) قیام پاکستان کی خاطر زبردست قربانیاں دینے والوں کو پھر ایک ایسی ہی جد و جہد کے لئے تیار ہو جانا چاہیئے ۔

مسٹر ایوب خاں نے دو مرتبہ ملک میں دستور معطل کرنے میں حصہ لیا ۔ ۱۹۵۴ء میں اس وقت کے گورنرجنرل ملک غلام محمد نے مسٹر ایوب خاں کے تعاون سے جو اس وقت کمانڈر انچیف تھے دستور ساز اسمبلی معطل کی ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں اقتدار کے خواہش مند تھے ۔ چنانچہ جب نئی حکومت قائم ہوئی تو انہیں وزیر دفاع مقرر کیا گیا ۔ کوئی شخص اس حقیقت سے انکار نہیں کر سکتا کہ پہلی دستور ساز اسمبلی معطل کرنے میں مسٹر ایوب خاں کا ہاتھ تھا ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں نے دوسری مرتبہ ۱۹۵۸ء میں فوج کی مدد سے اس دستور کو معطل کیا جس کا انہوں نے حلف لیا تھا ۔ حالانکہ اس وقت ملک میں مارشل لاء نافذ کرنے کی کوئی ضرورت نہیں تھی ۔ ایسا قدم سنگین صورت حال یا خوفناک بغاوت پر ہی اٹھایا جاتا ہے ۔ در اصل مسٹر ایوب خاں نے یہ اقدام اس لئے کیا کیونکہ وہ جانتے تھے کہ ملک میں عام انتخابات ہونے والے ہیں اور وہ حصول اقتدار کے اس موقع کو ہاتھ سے گنوانا نہیں چاہتے تھے لہذا انہوں نے ملک میں دوسری مرتبہ دستور معطل کردیا ۔ یہ شخص اقتدار کا بھوکا ہے کیونکہ وہ ۱۹۵۴ء سے ہی اقتدار حاصل کرنے کے منصوبے بناتا رہا ہے ۔ اس لئے

اقتدار کا بھوکا یہ شخص ہے میں نہیں ۔ مجھے کرسی یا اقتدار کی نہ کبھی ہوس تھی اور نہ اب ہے ۔ اگر مجھے اقتدار کی طلب ہوتی تو پچھلے سولہ برس گوشہ نشینی میں بسر نہ کر دیتی ۔ میں صرف عوام کی خدمت کے لئے میدان میں آئی ہوں ۔ (آپ نے دریافت کیا کہ) اگر ہم اقتدار کے بھوکے ہیں تو باقی قوم کس لئے جمہوریت کے لئے چیخ و پکار کر رہی ہے ۔ کیا یہ سب لوگ پاگل ہیں ۔ حزب اختلاف شخصی حکومت کے خلاف ہے اور ملک میں جمہوریت بحال کرانا چاہتی ہے ۔ چھ سال کے دوران جو مظالم ڈھائے گئے ہیں ، ہر شخص ان سے واقف ہے ۔ سول سروس کو ذاتی کاموں کے لئے استعمال کیا جا رہا ہے ۔ سرکاری ملازموں کو سیاست میں گھسیٹ لیا گیا ہے ۔ حالانکہ سیاست میں عمل و دخل کرنا سرکاری ملازمین کا کام نہیں ۔ ان کا کام تو ملک کا انتظام کرنا ہے ۔ بد قسمتی سے یہ دیکھا جا رہا ہے کہ وہ عوام کی داد و فریاد پر توجہ نہیں دیتے اور سیاست میں دخل اندازی کرتے ہیں جس کے باعث نظم و نسق میں تعطل پیدا ہو گیا ہے ۔ دفتروں میں فائلوں کے ڈھیر لگے پڑے ہیں ۔ عوام کی اقتصادی حالت بد سے بد تر ہو چکی ہے ، گرانی بڑھ رہی ہے ۔ اشیاء صرف عام آدمی کی خرید سے باہر ہیں ۔ رشوت ستانی بڑھ گئی ہے ۔ اقربا نوازی عام ہے لیکن اس شخص کو کوئی پوچھنے والا نہیں ۔ یہ کہتے ہیں ، ملک میں جمہوریت ہے ، حالانکہ ایسا نہیں ہے ۔ جسے وہ جمہوریت قرار دیتے ہیں ، خود ان کے ذہن کی تخلیق ہے ۔ اس شخص نے جو آئین بنایا ہے اس کے تحت وزیر نامزد ہوئے ہیں ۔ ان کو کوئی اختیار نہیں ۔ یہی حال اسمبلیوں کا ہے ۔ کوئی نہیں جانتا وہ کس کی نمائندہ ہیں ۔ بجٹ کا ایک تہائی حصہ اسمبلیوں میں پیش کیا جاتا ہے ۔ باقی بجٹ نہ جانے کہاں جاتا ہے ۔ ٹیکس گزار عوام کو اس کے بارے میں کچھ نہیں بتایا جاتا ۔ (مادر ملت نے زور دار آواز میں کہا) یہ سب کچھ اس ایک شخص کے حکم پر ہوتا ہے ۔ ہم ایسا نہیں چاہتے ۔ ہم آمریت قبول کرنے کو تیار نہیں ۔ ہم جمہوریت چاہتے ہیں ۔ یہ پورے ملک کی آواز ہے ۔ ملک میں ترقی کا ڈھنڈورہ پیٹا جا رہا ہے لیکن میں نے اپنے ملک گیر دورہ میں کہیں ترقی نہیں دیکھی ۔ البتہ اخبارات میں ضرور ترقیوں کا ذکر پڑھا ہے ۔ دعویٰ کیا جا رہا ہے کہ ملک کی ترقی پر کروڑوں روپے صرف کئے گئے ہیں لیکن مجھے تو علم نہیں کہ اتنی خطیر رقم کہاں سے آئی اور کہاں چلی گئی ۔ بہر صورت اس کے نتائج کا کسی کو کچھ علم نہیں ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں پہلے یہ کہتے تھے کہ سیاست دان مجھے گمراہ کرکے میدان سیاست میں گھسیٹ لائے ہیں لیکن اب انہوں نے مجھ پر ہوس اقتدار کا الزام لگانا شروع کر دیا ہے ۔ کبھی وہ ایک بات کہتے ہیں کبھی اسکے الٹ کہنا شروع کر دیتے

ھیں ۔ انھیں کسی ایک بات پر تو جمے رھنا چاھیئے دراصل انھیں ذھنی استحکام حاصل نہیں ۔ بھلا جس شخص کو ذھنی استحکام حاصل نہ ھو ، وہ ملک کو خاک استحکام دے سکتا ھے ۔

(مادر ملت نے کہا) دوسری جانب ھم جو بات بھی کہتے ھیں خوب سوچ سمجھ اور جانچ پرکھ کر کہتے ھیں ۔ ھماری بات اصولی ، ٹھوس اور پر وزن ھوتی ھے ۔ اسی لئے ھمیں اسے واپس لینے کی ضرورت نہیں پڑتی ۔ مجھے اقتدار کی ھوس نہیں ۔ میں عوام کی خدمت اور انہیں مظالم سے نجات دلانے کے لئے میدان میں آئی ھوں ۔ پوری قوم اس مشن میں میرے ساتھ ھے ۔ (طلبہ کے متعلق حکومت کی پالیسی اور طلبہ کے مسائل کا جائزہ لینے کے متعلق کمیشن کے قیام پر شدید نکتہ چینی کرتے ھوئے مادر ملت نے کہا) طلبہ کی ایجی ٹیشن کا اصل سبب یہ ھے کہ وہ یونیورسٹی آرڈی ننس منسوخ کرانا چاھتے ھیں ۔ (مادر ملت نے انگریزی زبان میں اسے بدترین قسم کے کالے قانون سے تعبیر کرتے ھوئے کہا کہ) یونیورسٹی کمشن کا قیام ایک انتخابی فریب ھے اس کمیشن کے قیام کی آخر کیا ضرورت تھی ۔ اگر وہ اس آرڈی ننس کو غلط سمجھتے ھیں تو اسے فوراً منسوخ کیوں نہیں کر دیتے لیکن اصل بات یہ ھے کہ انتخابات تک لوگوں کو ٹالنا چاھتے ھیں اور لوگوں کو بے وقوف بنا رھے ھیں ۔ ھوگا یہ کہ پہلے کمیشن جائزہ لے گا پھر رپورٹ پیش کی جائے گی اس کے بعد رپورٹ پر غور ھوگا اتنے عرصے میں انتخاب ختم ھو جائیں گے ۔

(مادر ملت نے بلوچستان میں جبر و استبداد کی مذمت کرتے ھوئے کہا) بلوچستان کے عوام بھی ملک کے دوسرے حصوں کے عوام کی طرح ملک کے وفادار شہری ھیں ۔ اگر وھاں کے کچھ لوگ ملک کے منافی سرگرمیوں میں مصروف ھیں تو ان کے خلاف عدالتوں میں کیوں کارروائی نہیں کی جاتی ۔ بیکس و مظلوم عوام کو جبر و تشدد سے دبایا نہیں جا سکتا ۔ آزاد ملک کے آزاد شہریوں سے اس قسم کا سلوک روا رکھنا بہتر بات نہیں ۔ مجھے بتایا گیا ھے کہ بلوچستان کے چند افراد کو حیدرآباد کے تعارفی جلسہ میں شرکت کی دعوت دی گئی ھے ۔ آخر ایسا کیوں ھو رھا ھے ۔ (سابق سندھ کے بیراج کے علاقوں میں زمین کی تقسیم کا ذکر کرتے ھوئے مادر ملت نے کہا) کیا وجہ ھے کہ یہ زمین ھاریوں کو نہیں دی جا رھی جو اس کے حقیقی طور پر مستحق ھیں ۔ بیراج کے علاقوں میں متعدد ایسے قطعات ھیں

جہاں شکار گاہیں بنائی گئی ہیں ۔ ایک ایسا ملک جہاں کے عوام کو دو وقت پیٹ بھر کر کھانا نصیب نہ ہوتا ہو ، تن ڈھانپنے کو کپڑا میسر نہ آتا ہو ، سر چھپانے کو ٹھکانہ نہ ہو ، اس قسم کی عیاشیوں کا کسی طرح متحمل نہیں ہو سکتا ۔ ایسی حرکات عوام سے بے انصافی ہے ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں کہتے ہیں کہ اگر عوام نے ان کے سیاسی فلسفہ کی تقلید نہ کی تو ملک تباہ ہو جائے گا ۔ (آپ نے دریافت کیا کہ) ان کے سیاسی فلسفہ سے ملک و قوم کو کیا فائدہ پہنچا ہے ۔ چھ سال کے عرصہ میں شہری آزادیاں ختم ہو گئی ہیں ۔ رشوت ، نا اہلی اور بد انتظامی بڑھ گئی ہے ۔ اخبارات کا گلا گھونٹ دیا گیا ہے ۔ انہیں خرید لیا گیا ہے ۔ ان خریدے ہوئے اخبارات میں ایسے بیانات شائع کرائے جاتے ہیں کہ مسٹر ایوب خاں کو فلاں علاقے سے اتنے فیصد ووٹ ملیں گے ۔ فلاں علاقہ میں کثرت رائے سے کامیابی ہوگی ۔ اس طرح لوگوں کے ذہن میں غلط بات بٹھانے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے ۔ حالانکہ اس پروپیگنڈا میں کوئی حقیقت نہیں ۔ یہ خریدے ہوئے اخبارات تو میری تقریر بھی توڑ موڑ کر پیش کرتے ہیں لیکن اللہ کے حکم سے ان کے ہاتھ اس قسم کی غلط باتوں سے کچھ نہیں آئے گا ۔ پچھلے دنوں خارجہ امور کے متعلق میرے نام سے ایک بیان کو غلط طریق پر پیش کیا گیا ہے ۔ میں نے کبھی امریکہ کو اپنا دوست نہیں کہا ۔ میں نے جو بات کہی وہ یہ تھی کہ مسٹر ایوب خاں آج کل ہر جگہ رو رو کر یہ شکایت کر رہے ہیں کہ امریکہ پاکستان کی نسبت بھارت کو تین گنا فوجی امداد دے رہا ہے ۔ میں نے دریافت کیا تھا کہ تم تو امریکہ کو اپنا دوست اور سیٹو اور سینٹو کا بہترین اتحادی قرار دیتے تھے پھر آپ نے اپنے ہاتھ سے کیوں جانے دیا ۔ اس کا مطلب تو یہ ہوا کہ ہم کسی دوست کو بھی اپنے ہاتھ میں رکھنے کے قابل نہیں ۔ میں نے امریکہ کو کبھی اپنا دوست نہیں کہا ۔ میں نے اپنے حالیہ انتخابی دورہ میں خارجہ پالیسی کے بارے میں کوئی بیان جاری نہیں کیا ۔ نہ ہی گذشتہ سوا سال کے دوران اس بارے میں کچھ کہا ہے ۔ نہ ہی اس بارے میں کوئی وعدہ کرنے کو تیار ہوں ۔ (مسٹر بھٹو پر نکتہ چینی کرتے ہوئے آپ نے کہا) میں انہیں بتا دینا چاہتی ہوں کہ میں ان سے دس گنا زائد سیاست جانتی ہوں ۔ مجھے علم ہے کہ ملک کا مفاد کس بات میں ہے ۔ عوام نے پاکستان کے لئے اس لئے بھاری قربانیاں نہیں دی تھیں کہ چند افراد اس سے فائدہ اٹھائیں بلکہ ملک اس لئے

قائم کیا گیا تھا کہ یہاں سب کے لئے یکساں سہولتیں حاصل ہوں گی - لیکن ہم سے یہ حقوق چھین لیے گئے ہیں (مادر ملت نے اپنی ۲۳ منٹ کی تقریر میں ان لوگوں پر جنہوں نے حصول پاکستان کے لئے بھاری قربانیاں دی تھیں زور دیا کہ وہ) اپنی آزادی اور حقوق کی بحالی کے لئے قربانیاں دینے کو تیار ہوجائیں -

(انتخابی ادارہ کے ممبروں سے خطاب کرتے ہوئے مادر ملت نے کہا) میں یہ نہیں کہتی کہ آپ مجھے ووٹ دیں - میں آپ سے یہ کہنا چاہتی ہوں کہ سوچ سمجھ کر اور عوام کی خواہشات کے مطابق ووٹ کا استعمال کریں اور ملک کے بہترین مفاد کو پیش نظر رکھیں -

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171. SPEECH AT CONFRONTATION MEETING HELD AT KARACHI IN 1964

Madar-i-Millat made the following speech at the Presidential Election Campaign Confrontation Meeting held in Karachi in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

" موجودہ آئین دراصل مارشل لاء ھی ھے ۔ عوام اب بیدار ھوچکے ھیں ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں اس آئین کو جمہوریت کا نام دے کر عوام کو دھوکا نہیں دے سکتے ۔ استحکام کسی کی اجارہ داری نہیں ۔ یہ لاٹھی اور جبر سے قائم نہیں ھوسکتا ۔ عوام موجودہ حکومت سے تنگ آ چکے ھیں اور وہ متحدہ حزب اختلاف کی قیادت میں آمریت کو ختم اور جمہوریت کو بحال کرنے کا تہیہ کرچکے ھیں ۔ ھمارے ملک میں مسٹر ایوب خاں نے جو جمہوریت قائم کی ھے اس کے گرد صرف پچاس آدمی جمع ھیں ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں نے ملک کو جو آئین دیا ھے وہ عوام کو ھرگز قبول نہیں ۔ ملک کا آئین عوام کی رائے کے مطابق بننا چاھیے (آپ نے کہا) کوئٹہ میں اس لئے تعارفی جلسہ منعقد نہیں کیا گیا تاکہ اس علاقہ کے انتخابی ادارہ کے ارکان حزب اختلاف کی آواز نہ سن سکیں (مادرملت نے اپنا دایاں ھاتھ بلند کرتے ھوئے کہا کہ) کیا یہی ھے وہ استحکام جس کے دعوے کئے جاتے ھیں ۔ لاٹھی اور جبر و تشدد سے استحکام قائم نہیں ھوسکتا ۔ لوگوں کو زبردستی ایک شخص کی مرضی کے سامنے نہیں جھکایا جاسکتا ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں کہتے ھیں کہ اپوزیشن برسر اقتدار آ گئی تو ملک کے استحکام کو زبردست خطرہ پیدا ھو جائے گا ۔ پاکستان قائم رھنے کے لئے بنا ھے ، استحکام ایک شخص کی اجارہ داری نہیں ھے ۔ صدارتی نظام مسٹر ایوب خاں کے دماغ کی اختراع ھے اور وہ ایسی جمہوریت چاھتے ھیں کہ جو بات ان کے منہ سے نکلے وہ صحیح ھے ۔

(مادر ملت محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے کہا کہ) قائداعظم کے مزار کا ماڈل اور ڈیزائن مسٹر ایوب خاں نے منظور کیا تھا ۔ اب وہ اس سے لاتعلقی ظاھر کررھے ھیں ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں نے مزار قائداعظم کے متعلق ملتان میں جو باتیں کہی تھیں وہ صحیح نہیں ۔ حقیقت یہ ھے کہ قائداعظم کے مزار کا خاکہ اس وقت تیار کیا گیا تھا جب

مسٹر سکندر مرزا صدر تھے ۔ لیکن عوام نے اس ماڈل کو مسترد کردیا تھا ۔ لوگوں کو یہ بتانے کے لئے کہ قائداعظم کا مقبرہ انہوں نے تیار کیا ہے ، مسٹر ایوب خاں اسی خاکہ کے مطابق مقبرہ تعمیر کرنا چاہتے تھے ۔ میں نے اس کا ڈیزائن اس لئے مسترد کردیا کہ مزار کے بالائی حصہ کے نیچے کوئی دیوار نہ تھی اور یہ ایک چھاتا نظر آتا تھا ۔ اس کے علاوہ اس میں اسلامی رنگ بھی نہیں تھا ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں دعویٰ کرتے ہیں کہ پاکستان ایک اسلامی ملک ہے لیکن وہ پاکستان کے بانی کا مزار اسلامی طرز تعمیر کو نظرانداز کرکے تعمیر کرنا چاہتے ہیں ۔ ایک مرتبہ ایک برطانوی ماہر تعمیرات نے قائداعظم کو بتایا تھا کہ وہ بمبئی میں اسلامی طرز کا مکان تعمیر کرنا چاہتا ہے ۔ اس پر قائداعظم بےحد خوش ہوئے تھے یہاں تک کہ قائداعظم نے دھلی میں مکان خریدتے وقت بھی اسلامی طرز تعمیر پر زور دیا تھا (مادر ملت نے کہا کہ) موجودہ حکومت مجھ پر زور ڈالتی تھی کہ یہ ڈیزائن منظور کرلیں ۔ لیکن میں نے ایسا کرنے سے انکار کردیا ۔ میں نے انہیں خبردار کردیا تھا کہ اگر حکومت نے اس ڈیزائن پر مقبرے کی تعمیر شروع کی تو میں پاکستان کے عوام کو بتاؤں گی کہ بابائے قوم کا مزار حکومت تیار کررہی ہے لیکن میں اپنے بھائی کے لئے علیحدہ مقبرہ تعمیر کراؤں گی ۔ اس پر وہ ڈرگئے اور مجھے کہا کہ میں اپنا ماہر تعمیرات بلاؤں ۔ چنانچہ میں نے مسٹر یحییٰ مرچنٹ کو طلب کیا اور ان سے کہا کہ وہ قائداعظم کے مقبرے کا ڈیزائن تیار کریں ۔ جسے انہوں نے منظور کرلیا ۔ مجھے بھی مقبرے کا سنگ بنیاد رکھنے کی تقریب میں شرکت کی دعوت دی گئی لیکن میں اس میں شریک نہیں ہوئی کیونکہ میرے لئے تقریب کوئی خوشی کا باعث نہ تھی ۔

(مادر ملت نے کہا) مسٹر ایوب خاں نے مزار کی دیواروں پر اپنے نام کا کتبہ نصب کرالیا ۔ انہوں نے مزار کا سنگ بنیاد رکھا تھا ۔ لیکن یہ سنگ بنیاد لوگوں نے دوسری رات ھی ہٹادیا ۔ مجھے قائداعظم میموریل فنڈ کمیٹی کا چیئرمین بننے کو کہا گیا تھا ۔ لیکن میں نے یہ پیشکش قبول کرنے سے انکار کردیا ۔ کیونکہ میں لوگوں کے پاس یہ اپیل لے کر نہیں جاسکتی تھی کہ وہ چندہ دیں تاکہ میرے بھائی کے لئے شایان شان مقبرہ تعمیر کیا جاسکے ۔ اگر لوگ قائداعظم کا مقبرہ بنانا چاہتے ھیں تو انہیں ازخود چندہ دینا چاہیے بجائے اس کے کہ میں اپنے بھائی کے لئے لوگوں سے چندہ مانگتی پھروں ۔ کسی کو یہ معلوم نہیں کہ کتنا چندہ اکٹھا کیا گیا اور کتنا باقی ہے ۔

(مادر ملت نے کہا) متحدہ حزب اختلاف ''عوام کی محافظ'' ہے ۔ اور اس وقت

تک جدوجہد جاری رکھے گی جب تک لوگوں کے حقوق اور جمہوریت بحال نہیں ہوجاتے ۔ (آپ نے اس الزام کی پرزور تردید کی کہ حزب اختلاف اقتدار چاہتی ہے) ۔ درحقیقت مسٹر ایوب خان اقتدار کے بھوکے ہیں ۔ اور متحدہ حزب اختلاف ملک کو ان سے بچانا چاہتی ہے ۔ متحدہ حزب اختلاف میں شامل تمام پارٹیاں جمہوریت کی جنگ کے لئے متحد ہوگئی ہیں ۔ وہ اسلئے متحد ہونے پر مجبور ہوئی ہیں کیونکہ ان پر واضح ہوگیا تھا کہ ملک میں جمہوریت کو بحال کرنے کے لئے اور کوئی راستہ نہیں رہ گیا ۔ جمہوریت کی جنگ میں تمام قوم میرے ساتھ ہے ۔ مارشل لاء کی آڑ میں مسٹر ایوب نے مسلم لیگ کو تقسیم کردیا ۔ اور چھوٹا ٹکڑا خود لے اڑے ۔ اب کہتے ہیں کہ کنونشن لیگ ہی اصل مسلم لیگ ہے ۔ پارٹی کے لئے کوئی کام کئے بغیر وہ اس کے صدر بھی بن گئے ۔ حالانکہ آدمی پارٹی کے لئے مدتوں کام کرنے کے بعد اس کی قیادت کا اہل ہوسکتا ہے ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان جس مسلم لیگ کو کونسل لیگ کہتے ہیں، اس نے پاکستان قائم کیا تھا ۔ صرف موقع پرست کنونشن لیگ میں شامل ہوئے ہیں ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان کہتے ہیں کہ انہوں نے ملک میں جمہوریت رائج کی ہے ۔ میں پوچھتی ہوں کہ یہ کس قسم کی جمہوریت ہے ۔ یہ ایک شخص کی جمہوریت ہے ۔ متحدہ حزب اختلاف عوام کی جمہوریت اور عوام کے ذریعے جمہوریت چاہتی ہے تاکہ ملک کی حکومت ملک کے نمائندوں کے ذریعے چلائی جائے ۔ موجودہ آئین کے تحت وزیروں کو اسمبلی میں ووٹ دینے کا حق نہیں اور نہ اسمبلی کے ممبروں کو بجٹ منظور یا مسترد کرنے کا اختیار ہے حالانکہ وہ عوام کے نمائندے ہیں ۔ موجودہ آئین مارشل لاء کا سلسلہ ہے ۔ عوام اچھی طرح جانتے ہیں کہ اسمبلیاں اور وزراء ڈھونگ سے زیادہ اصلیت نہیں رکھتے ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان سیاسی استحکام کا کس طرح دعویٰ کر سکتے ہیں ۔ جبکہ بلوچستان کے لوگوں پر ظلم و تشدد کیا جا رہا ہے ۔ استحکام طاقت سے حاصل نہیں ہوتا ۔ بد قسمتی سے ایوب خان اس حقیقت کو نہیں سمجھ سکتے ۔ کیونکہ وہ سیاست دان نہیں ہیں ۔ اگر قائد اعظم کی وفات کے بعد استحکام ختم نہیں ہوا جبکہ پاکستان نیا نیا قائم ہوا تھا ۔ تو مسٹر ایوب خان کس طرح کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ اگر وہ برسر اقتدار نہ رہے تو استحکام ختم ہو جائے گا ۔

(مادر ملت نے کہا) بلوچستان کے کئی ارکان انتخابی ادارہ صدر کے تعارفی جلسے میں شرکت کے لئے اس لئے نہ آ سکے کہ ان کے لئے وہاں سے نکلنا خطرے سے خالی نہ تھا ۔ ایجی ٹیشن اور فائرنگ نے ان کے سفر کو غیر محفوظ بنا دیا ۔

(آپ نے الزام لگایا کہ) تعارفی جلسہ سکھر کی بجائے حیدر آباد میں اس لئے رکھا گیا تاکہ زیادہ لوگ وہاں نہ آ سکیں ۔ بلوچستان میں بد انتظامی اور بد عنوانی اپنی انتہا کو پہنچی ہوئی ہے ۔ یہ اتنی تشویشناک حد تک بڑھ چکی ہے کہ میں نہیں کہہ سکتی کہ اگر موجودہ حکومت قائم رہی تو ملک کا کیا حشر ہوگا ۔ حکومت اور لوگوں میں بہت بڑی خلیج پیدا کردی گئی ہے ۔ لوگوں کی شکایات پر کوئی توجہ نہیں دیتا ۔ موجودہ حکومت لوگوں کو اپنے سے دور رکھنا چاہتی ہے اور صرف یہ چاہتی ہے کہ وہ حکم جاری کرے اور لوگ اس کی تعمیل کرتے رہیں ۔ میں پارلیمانی نظام حکومت کی حامی ہوں ۔ تاکہ جو اپنا کام اچھی طرح نہ کر سکے وہ عوام کے سامنے جواب دہ ہو سکے ۔ میں نہیں جانتی کہ مسٹر ایوب خاں نے کس ٹائپ کا صدارتی نظام رائج کر رکھا ہے ۔ اس نظام کو چلانے کے لئے ایک انتہائی قابل ، انتہائی با اعتماد اور انتہائی دیانت دار شخص کی ضرورت ہوتی ہے ۔ اس ملک میں ایسا آدمی ملنا مشکل ہے ۔ اٹلی اور جرمنی میں یہی نظام رائج تھا ۔ ان کا جو حشر ہوا ہے وہ آپ سب کے سامنے ہے ۔ یہ نظام نہیں چل سکتا کیونکہ اس نظام کے ساتھ اگر صدر غلطی کرتا ہے تو اس کو پوچھنے والا کوئی نہیں ہوتا ۔ ایک دفعہ اگر وہ منتخب ہو جائے تو پانچ سال کے لئے آسے کچھ نہیں کہا جا سکتا ۔ جبکہ پارلیمانی نظام کے تحت حکمرانوں کے لئے ضروری ہے کہ لوگوں کے پاس جائیں اور کوئی فیصلہ کرنے سے پیشتر ان کا اعتماد حاصل کریں ۔

(آپ نے کہا) مسٹر ایوب خاں نے مجھ پر الزام لگایا ہے کہ میں اقتدار حاصل کرنے کے لئے سیاسی میدان میں آئی ہوں ۔ اگر ان کا یہ اعتراض درست تسلیم کر لیا جائے تو کیا وہ یہ بتا سکیں گے کہ ملک کے دانشور ، متوسط طبقہ ، غریب لوگ ، پڑھے لکھے اور عام لوگ میری حمایت کر رہے ہیں ۔ کیا ساری قوم اقتدار کی بھوکی ہے ۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ عوام موجودہ حکومت سے تنگ آ چکے ہیں اور (آخر میں مادر ملت نے انتخابی ادارے کے ارکان سے اپیل کی) وہ اپنا ووٹ اس طرح سے استعمال کریں کہ جس سے ملک و قوم کا فائدہ ہو ۔

Following are the questions put to Madar-i-Millat after her speech and her replies thereto.

سوالات

آج جب مادر ملت نے صدارتی امیدواروں کے جلسے اور مغربی پاکستان کے آخری

تعارف جلسے میں تقریر ختم کی تو فضا مادر ملت زندہ باد کے نعروں سے گونج اٹھی اور صدر جلسے کے سوالات طلب کرنے پر انتخابی ادارے کے ممبروں نے پر زور آواز میں جواب دیا کہ ہمیں مادر ملت پر مکمل اعتماد ہے۔ ہم ان سے کوئی سوال دریافت کرنا نہیں چاہتے لیکن جب ضابطہ کی کارروائی پوری کرنے کے لئے صدر جلسے نے سوالات پوچھنے پر اصرار کیا تو صرف گیارہ سوالات کا نوٹس وصول ہوا۔ مادر ملت نے ایک سوال کا جواب دیتے ہوئے کہا کہ مسٹر ایوب خاں بار بار دھراتے ہیں کہ ملک میں پارلیمانی نظام ناکام ہوگیا ہے۔ لیکن اس کا یہ مطلب ہرگز نہیں کہ واقعی ملک میں پارلیمانی نظام ناکام ہوگیا ہے۔ آپ نے پر زور الفاظ میں کہا کہ پاکستان میں پارلیمانی نظام ناکام نہیں ہوا۔ آپ نے کہا کہ ملک میں مارشل لاء کے نافذ کرنے کی کوئی ضرورت نہ تھی۔ کیونکہ نہ تو کوئی بغاوت ہوئی تھی اور نہ ہی امن و امان کا سنگین سوال پیدا ہوا تھا۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں کے بر سر اقتدار آنے سے کوئی فرق نہیں پڑا۔ دراصل حقیقت یہ ہے کہ مسٹر ایوب خاں بری طرح ناکام ثابت ہوئے۔ دریافت کیا گیا تھا کہ اگر آپ کامیاب ہوں گی تو پانچ متضاد نظریات کی حامل جماعتوں کے تعاون سے پارلیمانی جمہوریت چلا سکیں گی۔ اور کیا آپ موجودہ دستور کو فسخ کر دیں گی یا اس میں ترامیم کریں گی اور یہ ترامیم کیا شکل اختیار کریں گی۔ مادر ملت نے بتایا کہ اگر حزب اختلاف بر سر اقتدار آ گئی تو دستور کو منسوخ نہیں کیا جائے گا کیونکہ اس اقدام سے دستوری خلا پیدا ہو جائے گا۔ البتہ آئین میں اس طرح بتدریج ترامیم کی جائیں گی کہ اس کا ڈھانچہ ہی بدل دیا جائے۔ اس میں اسلامی قوانین کو سمو دیا جائے اور یہ پارلیمانی دستور نظر آئے۔ مادر ملت نے انتخابی ادارے کے ایک اور رکن کو یقین دلایا کہ اگر وہ بر سر اقتدار آ گئیں تو کوئی فرد بے گھر نہ رہے گا۔ دریافت کیا گیا تھا کہ کیا آپ بر سر اقتدار آنے کے بعد اضافی بستیوں کے الاٹیوں کو تعمیر شدہ کوارٹروں کے حقوق ملکیت تفویض کریں گی۔

مادر ملت نے کہا کہ آزادی کے بعد سے ملک کا ہر فرد مہاجر ٹیکس ادا کر رہا ہے اس فنڈ میں کروڑوں روپے حاصل کئے گئے ہیں۔ چند اضافی بستیوں کی تعمیر کے سوا کسی کو معلوم نہیں یہ روپیہ کہاں صرف ہوا ہے۔

س۔ اگر آپ منتخب ہوگئیں تو اس امر کی کیا ضمانت ہے کہ بنیادی جمہوریتوں کا نظام قائم رہے گا۔

ج - جیسا کہ ہم پہلے کہہ چکے ہیں کہ اس نظام کو قائم رکھا جائے گا ہم صرف یہ چاہتے ہیں جس مقصد کے لئے انہیں قائم کیا گیا تھا اس کے لئے مختص رکھا جائے - یعنی لوکل سیلف گورنمنٹ کے دائرہ تک ہم نہ صرف ان اداروں کو قائم رکھیں گے بلکہ انہیں ہر قسم کے سرکاری کنٹرول سے آزاد کر کے خود مختار ادارے بھی بنا دیں گے -

س - اگر پارلیمنٹ نے اس نظام کو ختم کرنے کا فیصلہ کیا تو آپ کیا کریں گی -

ج - اس وقت یہ سوال کیسے کیا جا سکتا ہے البتہ اگر ایسی صورت حال پیدا ہوئی تو اس وقت کے حالات کے مطابق فیصلہ کیا جائے گا -

س - کیا صدر اور اسمبلیوں کے انتخاب کا موجودہ طریقہ انتخاب جمہوری نہیں اور عوام نے اپنے ووٹ سے اس طریقہ انتخاب کو تسلیم کرنے کا اعلان نہیں کر دیا -

ج - جمہوریت کسی خاص طریق انتخاب پر منحصر نہیں اس کے بعض دوسرے تقاضے بھی ہیں - مثال کے طور پر قانون ساز اداروں اور وزراء کو اختیارات تفویض کرنا - سول سروس کا اپنا کام کرنا - مختصراً یہ کہ جمہوریت کی ہر سطح پر ضرورت ہے - لیکن اس وقت نہ تو اسمبلیوں کو قانون سازی اور نہ ہی بجٹ پر اختیارات ہیں - اور نہ ہی وزراء کو ووٹ دینے کا حق ہے -

س - کیا آپ بر سر اقتدار آنے کے بعد ملک میں اسلامی قوانین نافذ کریں گی -

ج - کون سے اسلامی قوانین؟ پاکستان ایک اسلامی ملک ہے، اس کا نام اسلامی جمہوریہ پاکستان ہے اور اسے اسلامی اصولوں کے مطابق زندگی بسر کرنے کے لئے قائم کیا گیا تھا - ظاہر ہے کہ یہاں اسلامی طرز زندگی کا پورا پورا خیال رکھنا چاہئے -

س - عوام رشوت سے بالکل تنگ آئے ہوئے ہیں - کیا آپ کے پاس اسے ختم کرنے کا کوئی مؤثر پروگرام ہے -

ج - رشوت ختم کرنے کی ہر ممکن کوشش کی جائے گی -

س ۔ مہاجر کی اصطلاح کب ختم ہوگی ۔

ج ۔ اس اصطلاح کو ختم ہو جانا چاہئیے ۔ میں نے قیام پاکستان کے فوراً بعد ہی کہا تھا کہ یہ اختلاف پاکستان کی نیک نامی پر بد نما دھبہ ہے اسے ہرگز استعمال نہیں کرنا چاہیئے ۔ پاکستان میں ہر کوئی پہلے پاکستانی ہے اس کے بعد کچھ اور ہے ۔

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172. SPEECH AT ELECTION PROJECTION MEETING AT CHITTAGONG, 1964

Madar-i-Millat delivered the following speech while addressing the first Election Projection meeting in East Pakistan at Chittagong in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

"It was a matter of regret that Mr. Fazlul Quader Chowdhury, Speaker of National Assembly, addressed public meetings and participated in politics.

The Speaker was a non-political man, but probably Mr. Fazlul Quader Chowdhury was afraid of losing contact with the Government if President Ayub lost the election.

Madar-i-Millat challenged the contention of present regime that the country had made no progress under old politicians. Pakistan, she said, had progressed more during 1947-57 period than under the Martial Law regime. She recalled that Karnaphuli Paper Mills, Kaptai Dam and the Chittagong Port were among the achievements of the old politicians. On the contrary, no results of the "ofttrumpeted" development carried out by the present regime were visible. It is claimed that crores of rupees were being spent but one did not know where the whole amounts had gone.

Even President Ayub and some of his Ministers were associated with the regime of the old politicians whom he now did not fail to abuse. "Those who live in glass house should not throw stones on others."

People had made innumerable sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan, But independence won by the people had been snatched away from them. They were oppressed and fundamental rights were denied to them. The authority had gone into the hands of a few.

ISLAMIC STATE

Pakistan was visualised to be an Islamic State where justice was done everybody and citizens were free and enjoyed fundamental rights.

It was not meant to benefit a privileged class. But at present the rich were amassing more and more wealth while the poor were unfed, unclothed and without proper medical facilities.

POST-MARTIAL LAW PERIOD

The irregularities committed in the post-Martial Law period were not

unknown to the people. The corruption has assumed "unprecedented proportion."

I am seeking election not for the sake of power but for the "restoration of the rights of the people". It was incorrect that the C O P would snatch away the rights from the Basic Democrats On the other hand there would be no nomination and no official interference in their function.

Mr. Ayub Khan was recently asked whether nomination in Basic Democracy would continue, he replied it was "a provincial subject."

Mr. Ayub Khan as the author of Basic Democracies must be knowing what developments were taking place in that regard. In fact, he avoided to answer the question.

JOINT DEFENCE

Mr. Ayub Khan had contented that his offer of joint defence with India was to bring no harm to Pakistan defence. Actually. there was a proposal between Pakistan and India when the British Cabinet Mission visited the sub-continent before Independence but the Quaid-i-Azam rejected this proposal and insisted on complete freedom after the country was free.

This is the outcome of "one man rule" and the Presidential system under which the Legislatures were powerless and people enjoying no rights.

Under the Parliamentary system decisions were taken by the majority in the Legislature after full dress discussion. Now it was for the members of the Electoral College to decide whether there should be a parliamentary or presidential system in the country

CRITICAL TIME

It was a critical time and the result of the Presidential election could decide the fate of the country. She asked the members of the Electoral College to take into consideration the interest of the country alone while exercising a right to vote. She contented that the present regime was "not strengthening Pakistan." It was merely strengthening Mr. Ayub Khan, whereas she stood for the realisation of the objective for which Pakistan was created. I had taken part in the struggle of independence and the value of independence was known only to those who fought and made sacrifices for it. Mr. Ayub Khan took no part in the freedom struggle so he does not hesitate to compromise independence of the country by offering joint defence with India.

ASSETS

During Martial Law the officials were required to declare their assets.

She asked President Ayub to declare his own assets. She was also prepared to do the same.

An overwhelming majority of the people and the members of the Electoral College in West Pakistan were with me. I have extensively toured that Wing recently. She asked the electorate do not be misled by the false press reports claiming 80 to 90 per cent support of the members of the ruling party. These claims were made to deceive them. I have brought for you a correct information and that was that an overwhelming majority of Basic Democrats were with the Combined Opposition in West Pakistan.

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173. SPEECH AT ELECTION PROJECTION MEETING AT KHULNA, 1964

Madar-i-Millat made the following speech at Election Projection meeting in East Pakistan at Khulna in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

"No substantial development had taken place in East Pakistan during Ayub regime

She said she could not see any development in this Wing in spite of the claims that crores of rupees had been spent on various projects after the promulgation of Martial Law Chittagong harbour, Karnaphuli Paper Mills, Kaptai Hydel Project and various jute mills are some of the achievements of the pre-Martial Law period Work on Chalna anchorage was also started during those days but the project was not completed during the Martial Law days. Had Chalna port been completed, the difficulties of the people would have been mitigated One port could not serve the economic interests of the people of this Wing

Economic conditions of the people were miserable. They could not afford even the necessities of life Malpractices, corruption and inefficiency had crept into the administration as the executive machinery was being misused by the present Government There was wide gulf between the authority and the public. The people had no voice. If the Combined Opposition came to power, the affairs of the State would be managed in accordance with the wishes of the people expressed through their representatives.

She challenged the contention that the people were ignorant and did not understand political issues and thus controlled democracy suited Pakistan best. If the people were ignorant and unconscious of politics why did they fight for Pakistan ? The idea of the controlled democracy was conceived to perpetuate "one-man rule".

TRIO

A former Governor-General, late Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Mr. Iskander Mirza and Mr. Ayub Khan formed a trio and removed the then Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, and dissolved the Constituent Assembly in 1954 when the Constitution was almost ready to be presented to the Assembly.

Mr. Ayub Khan had stated that Mr. Ghulam Muhammad had asked him to declare Martial Law, but he did not agree. Mr. Ayub Khan had not

agreed to declare Martial Law then because they were afraid of the people's resistance. Of the trio Mr. Ghulam Muhammad died but Iskander Mirza the then Defence Secretary, and Ayub Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief persistently tried from 1954 to 1958 to create obstacles in the functioning of the Assembly so that the latter might fail and Martial Law might be imposed.

Martial Law was generally imposed when there was rebellion in the country and the police failed to maintain law and order. There was no revolt in Pakistan and everything was functioning normally in 1958. During the Martial Law the public and political parties were oppressed and subdued. As Martial Law could not continue any longer, Mr. Ayub Khan was forced to give the country a Constitution in 1962. The report of the Constitution Commission was rejected and a Constitution was promulgated by him which concentrated power in his own hands. Ministers were nominated; legislatures were in name only ; the people had no say.

The Combined Opposition stood for democracy and sovereignty of the people. Had I been power hungry millions of people would not have supported me.

Our opponents thought that the Combined Opposition was like the "Jugto Front" of 1954 and would meet the same fate. But the Combined Opposition was different from the "Jugto Front" as ths former (C O P) was for the entire country while the latter was limited to East Pakistan alone.

The Combined Opposition stood for freedom of Press, freedom of expression and freedom of association. Pakistan is an Islamic State, where Islamic social justice should be in vogue. There should be equal opportunities for all.

It was announced after the Martial Law that a lot of gold had been found from the sea. The nation today, wanted to know where all that gold had gone. If malpractices and corruption went on unchecked at its present rate nobody knows what would be the future of the country.

President Ayub had repeatedly stated that the Quaid-i-Azam gave me no office in political or social spheres after the creation of Pakistan. I do not know what conclusions Mr. Ayub Khan wanted to draw from it. He would not be able to mislead the public by it. "True" I had not publicly taken part in politics. This was because the Quaid-i-Azam was himself in it. But I fought like a soldier side by side with other Muslims under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam for Pakistan." Mr. Ayub Khan had also stated that the Quaid-i-Azam used to lock me in a room if I discussed politics with him even

in private. "But why the Quaid-i-Azam used to take me along everywhere throughout the Pakistan Movement"

POLITICAL OFFICE

About the contention that the Quaid-i-Azam did not give her any political office, Miss Jinnah said she and the Quaid-i-Azam thought on lines different from those of Mr. Ayub Khan. The Quaid-i-Azam never tried to draw any personal advantage from his position. He had created Pakistan not for himself nor for his sister, but for the entire nation.

People had tasted "more or less dictatorship' during the last six years. The present Constitution was in fact continuation of Martial Law and was a camouflage to hoodwink the people. She cautioned the Members of Electoral College to exercise their right to vote very carefully. Their vote was a national trust and their vote would decide whether there should be democracy or dictatorship in Pakistan.

Thanking the Members of the Electoral College, Miss Jinnah said she was conscious of the difficulties in means of transportation in East Pakistan, but inspite of that they had come to give her an opportunity to address them."

174. SPEECH AT ELECTION PROJECTION MEETING AT RAJSHAHI, 1964.

Madar-i-Millat made the following speech at Election Projection meeting at Rajshahi in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

"Lack of educational facilities inculcated undesirable habits among children and thus posed a danger to society. The conditions had worsened since the imposition of Martial Law. On the social side malpractices, corruption and smuggling, both on the Eastern and Western borders of Pakistan, were on the increase. In educational sphere, mere opening of a few schools here and there did not mark any progress as long as inequality of opportunity existed.

Democracy remained in practice in Pakistan only till 1954. After that continued attempts had been made to make democracy a failu e. Afraid of the then Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad, Defence Secretary Iskander Mirza and C-in-C Ayub Khan "intrigued to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. Then the Constitution was almost ready to be presented to it". But fearing the wrath of the public they had to hold elections to the Assembly. They however, did not abandon their efforts to create obstacles in smooth functioning of the legislature. In 1958, when political parties were gaining fresh strength, Martial Law was imposed.

MARTIAL LAW

Under the Martial Law the people were oppressed, and repressed to such an extent that they became almost half dead. Politicians were EBDOed. Restrictions were placed on political parties. Sensing his way to be clear, Mr. Ayub Khan thought of framing a Constitution giving him all powers and seeking re-election for another term. But God willed otherwise. Five political parties of the country got united and nominated me to contest the election against Mr. Ayub Khan and to save the country.

The current election was a conflict between the two concepts namely presidential system and parliamentary form of Government. Under the latter, only the will of the people prevailed.

Under the presidential system whose unique brand had been introduced in this country "one man took vital decisions" and one man was likely to err.

Mr. Ayub Khan too had erred on many national issues. Referring to the Indo-Pak Water Treaty, Miss Jinnah said. It was universally accepted that water belonged to the course, and not to the source. In Europe too, rivers originated in one country and passed through many other countries, but no nation dared to divert a river and deny other nations their share in water. Mr. Ayub Khan failed to stop India from diverting the waters of rivers flowing through Pakistan. Had the people of Pakistan come to know at the time what agreement Mr. Ayub Khan was going to enter into, they would not have allowed him to do.

She said Mr. Ayub Khan had offered to form a confederation with India in 1959. People in other countries where the presidential system was in vogue, the United States included, were also getting tired of that system and wanted democracy. To run the presidential system it was essential that there should be a person who selflessly worked for the nation.

Mr. Ayub Khan had stated that I wanted to destroy Pakistan. I never wanted to bring harm to this country. All the parties which were supporting me had participated in the Pakistan Movement, and the people who backed these parties had made sacrifices for independence.

A demonstration was staged against me on my arrival this morning. I do not mind demonstrations, but demonstrators should not be protected by helmeted policemen as they were being done here.

Miss Jinnah said students were lathicharged here today. How one could run the Government if one was afraid of children and lathicharged them? Who had brought students into politics? This Government had brought students into politics by making School and College students, boy scouts and girl guides, to leave their classes and wait for hours on roads to welcome the foreign visiting V.I.Ps.

Those in Government also brought students from educational institutions to make up the paucity of audience at their meetings.

I do not indulge in falsehood in my election campaign but I deplore that many wrong things were being made current against me by the other side.

I am surprised at heavy police and armed force being posted near the projection meeting. I do not require police as the people are with me. But the person who could not come to an election meeting except with the aid of police and army, could not become a leader.

Miss Jinnah made a reference to lack of communication and transportation facilities in East Pakistan. "There can be no civilization without communication."

Whatever development that had taken place in East Pakistan was of the pre-Martial Law period, for instance Chittagong harbour, Kaptai hydel project and Rajshahi University".

175. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1964.

Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah issued the following message on the eve of the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

"Once again the nation is celebrating the birth anniversary of the Father of the Nation to pay its homage to the man who more than any one else gave our people the consciousness and the determination to assert their rights as a sovereign people and once again we all remember him in gratitude for arresting the decline that had overtaken the Muslims of the sub-continent since the fall of the Moghal Empire and for lighting the torch of Muslim renaissance.

The achievements of the Quaid-i-Azam and the miraculous creation of Pakistan under his leadership, in a short period of 7 years, won the tribute of statesmen and thinkers all over the world. This historic feat was looked at with awe and incredible admiration by all the nations of the world—because Muslims who had been struggling for years to get their rights as a minority had come up with a new spirit and a new life and claimed and established their homeland as a nation. How was this miracle possible? What was it that inspired the confidence of 100 million Muslims in the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam ?

In answers to these questions lies a great lesson for all of us and if we are, as we should be, determined to make Pakistan great and worthy of its name we shall seek inspirations and guidance from those qualities of character and principles of conduct that the Quaid-i-Azam followed and acted upon throughout his career.

The Quaid-i-Azam never compromised upon principles and in his eventful life a number of occasions came when the British and the Hindus, through various designs, attempted to win him over. But there was nothing that could deviate him from the path he had chosen. He stood rock-like on the principles of Muslim nationhood and democracy and the sovereignty of the people. Neither pressure, nor fear, nor the promise of a reward could deter him. This was so because he knew his cause was just and he had full faith in the righteousness of his objective. But for these sterling qualities, materialisation of the goal would have been impossible.

This strength of purpose was coupled with the conduct based upon the concept 'people above self'. The Quaid-i-Azam never arrogated to himself the sovereign rights which the people alone can and must exercise. It is not only that he had the end in view but he was scrupulously careful about the means he employed and at no price would he compromise and resort to means that clashed with his principles for an immediate gain. It was this dislike for expediency which saved the Muslims from the many traps that had been set for them. Never for once did he remove his mind from the objective that he had set before him and never for a moment did he relax till by the Grace of God, Pakistan was established and the Muslims found an honourable place as the fifth largest State of the world.

I would today appeal to every Pakistani to review the progress and political developments of the past and realise that unless each one of us is determined to play his part, it will be impossible to translate the ideals of our movement. I would urge all Pakistanis to realize what serious damage has been done to our national prestige and how our energies have been dissipated and how the country has been put years behind. Unless we are all alive to this state of affairs and what is likely to come, and, if this is not put an end to, it will be impossible for us to put Pakistan in a position where it can play its proper role and we shall have left behind for posterity a heritage of humiliation and disgrace.

The Pakistan movement was directed in a democratic spirit by democratic method towards democracy and namely, the establishment of a free social order based upon Islamic principles wherein the will of the people will prevail and wherein they will be free from fear, want and distress.

Let us on this day once again resolve to fulfil the purpose of the movement as envisaged by the Quaid-i-Azam.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad, Pakistan Paindabad."

176. SPEECH AT THE PROJECTION MEETING AT DACCA, 1964

Madar-i-Millat made the following speech at the Election Projection meeting held at Dacca in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

"ملک پر ایک شخص کی حاکمیت کو مسلط کرنے کے لئے عوام کی تمام آزادیاں چھین لی گئی ہیں اور ایک آزاد اور خود مختار قوم کو محکوم و مجبور بنا کر رکھ دیا گیا ہے ۔ (مادر ملت نے اس دعویٰ کو بالکل غلط قرار دیا کہ ملک میں استحکام موجود ہے اور کہا کہ) آرڈی ننسوں کے زور سے حکومت چلانے سے استحکام پیدا نہیں ہوتا ۔ (مادر ملت نے اعلان کیا کہ) میں نظریہ پاکستان کی حفاظت کے لئے میدان میں آئی ہوں ۔ اگر مجھے اقتدار کی ہوس ہوتی تو گذشتہ سولہ سال میں جب چاہتی اقتدار حاصل کر سکتی تھی ۔

استحکام کا انحصار اس سیاسی نظام پر ہوتا ہے جس کی جڑیں عوام میں ہوں ۔ صرف وہی قیادت ملک میں استحکام لا سکتی ہے جسے عوام کا اعتماد حاصل ہو اور جو عوام کی صحیح معنوں میں ترجمان ہو ۔ استحکام کا انحصار ایک شخص کے دوبارہ برسر اقتدار آنے یا اس کی سبکدوشی پر نہیں ہوتا ۔ (مادر ملت نے کہا) اگر میں برسر اقتدار آ گئی تو ملک میں صحیح استحکام پیدا ہوگا کیونکہ مجھے تمام قوم کی تائید و حمایت حاصل ہے ۔ میں عوام کی مشکلات کو اچھی طرح سمجھتی ہوں اور انہیں حل کرنے کی ہر ممکن کوشش کی جائے گی ۔ ملک پر آرڈی ننسوں کے ذریعے حکومت کی جا رہی ہے ۔ ہر روز آرڈی ننس جاری ہوتے ہیں ۔ جس ملک کی یہ حالت ہو وہاں سیاسی استحکام کا دعویٰ نہیں کیا جا سکتا ۔ ہر روز خامیاں دور کرنے کے لئے قوانین میں تبدیلیاں کی جاتی ہیں ۔ جس سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ قوانین صحیح نہیں ، حالانکہ ملکی قوانین استحکام کا ایک بہت بڑا ذریعہ ہوتے ہیں ۔

مسٹر ایوب خاں نے اپنے چھ سالہ دور میں جبر و تشدد اور بد عنوانیوں

کی وجہ سے ملک کے استحکام کو مکمل طور پر تباہ کر دیا ہے ۔ اور اب قوم کو یہ انتباہ کرتے پھرتے ہیں کہ اگر متحدہ حزب اختلاف برسر اقتدار آ گئی تو ملک سے استحکام ختم ہو جائے گا ۔ (مادر ملت نے کہا کہ) مسٹر ایوب خاں غالباً استحکام سے مراد اپنے اور اپنے خاندان کا استحکام لیتے ہیں ۔ مجھے تو پاکستان کے کسی شعبہ میں استحکام نظر نہیں آیا ۔ تمام ملک رشوت ستانی ، بد عنوانی اور بد انتظامی کی چکی میں پس رہا ہے ۔ میرے نزدیک استحکام کا مطلب مختلف ہے ۔ میں یہ سمجھتی ہوں کہ استحکام کسی ڈکٹیٹر کے دعووں سے نہیں بلکہ ملکی امور میں تمام قوم کی اجتماعی شرکت سے حاصل ہوتا ہے ۔ مادر ملت نے ممبروں سے دریافت کیا کہ مسٹر ایوب خاں بار بار استحکام کا جو نام لیتے ہیں اگر وہ خدا نخواستہ اس دنیا میں نہ رہے تو استحکام کا کیا حشر ہوگا ایسی صورت میں تمام ملک متذبذب ہے اور غیر یقینی اور مایوسی کا شکار ہے لیکن پارلیمانی نظام حکومت میں ایسا نہیں ہو سکتا ۔ چاہے حکومت کتنی دفعہ بدلے ملک کا استحکام رہتا ہے ۔

(مادر ملت نے موجودہ آئین پر شدید نکتہ چینی کی) موجودہ آئین ''ایک بیہودہ دستاویز'' ہے ۔ جو ایک شخص کی مکروہ خواہشات کی تکمیل کے لئے بنایا گیا ہے ۔ تاکہ وہ اس ملک پر مستقل طور پر موروثی حکمرانی مسلط کر سکے یہاں تک کہ یہ دستاویز بھی کافی نہیں سمجھی جاتی ۔ ہر روز ایک شخص کے ذہن میں نئے نئے خیالات پیدا ہوتے ہیں جنہیں وہ آرڈی ننسوں کے ذریعے قوم پر مسلط کر دیتا ہے ۔ آرڈی ننسوں کی طاقت سے چلنے والی حکومت استحکام کیسے پیدا کر سکتی ہے ۔

پاکستان ایک نظریاتی مملکت بنانے کے لئے قائم کیا گیا تھا ۔ اس نظریہ کی بنیاد انفرادی آزادی پر تھی اور اس بات پر کہ ملکی امور میں آخری فیصلہ عوام کی مرضی کے مطابق ہوگا لیکن میں نہیں جانتی کہ وہ نظریہ کہاں گیا ۔ مسٹر ایوب خاں نے مجھ پر نظریۂ پاکستان کو نقصان پہنچانے کا الزام لگایا ہے حالانکہ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ میں اس نظریہ کی بحالی کی خاطر میدان میں آئی ہوں ۔ عوام کو ایک آزاد ملک کے شہریوں کے حقوق مل کر رہیں گے ۔ کہا جاتا ہے کہ قائد اعظم نے مجھے کوئی عہدہ نہیں دیا لیکن آپ کو معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ قائد اعظم مسٹر ایوب خاں نہیں تھے کہ خود عہدہ سنبھال

کر اپنے خاندان کے افراد کے مفاد کو فروغ دینے میں مصروف ہو جاتے۔ قائد اعظم تمام زندگی مسلمانوں کی آزادی کے لئے لڑتے رہے اور اس کی خاطر انہوں نے اپنی زندگی دے دی ۔

مسٹر ایوب خاں کہتے ہیں کہ لوگ جاہل ہیں۔ وہ جمہوریت کو نہیں سمجھتے اس لئے انہیں بتدریج اختیارات دینے چاہئیں۔ یہ بھی مضحکہ خیز ہے۔ یہ کس طرح ہو سکتا ہے کہ جن لوگوں نے تحریک پاکستان میں بڑھ چڑھ کر حصہ لیا ، ریفرنڈم میں پاکستان کے حق میں آزادانہ اپنی رائے کا اظہار کیا ، وہ جمہوریت کو نہ سمجھ سکیں ؟ سب سے زیادہ حیرت کی بات تو یہ ہے کہ ایک سپاہی جس نے کبھی سیاسی امور میں حصہ نہیں لیا آج لوگوں کو سیاست سکھاتا ہے ۔

مجھ پر یہ الزام لگایا جاتا ہے کہ میں اقتدار چاہتی ہوں۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ گذشتہ سولہ سال میں میں جب چاہتی اقتدار حاصل کر سکتی تھی - لیکن قیام پاکستان کے بعد میرا مشن پورا ہو گیا اور میں گوشہ نشینی کی زندگی بسر کر رہی تھی - میں نے گذشتہ کئی سال سے سیاست میں کوئی حصہ نہیں لیا اور سماجی بہبود کے کاموں میں مصروف رہی۔ (آپ نے کہا کہ) قائد اعظم کی وفات کے بعد پاکستان کے حالات خراب ہو گئے اور بالاخر چھ سال قبل ملک پہ آمریت مسلط ہو گئی جس نے تمام قوم کو محکوم بنا کر رکھ دیا ۔ ایک شخص کی حکومت کی جڑیں مضبوط کرنے کے لئے لوگوں کی آزادی اور ان کے حقوق چھین لئے گئے - یہ صورت حال تھی جس نے مجھے دوبارہ سیاست میں آنے پر مجبور کیا - ۱۹۵۸ء میں ملک میں مارشل لاء لگانے کی کوئی ضرورت نہ تھی کیونکہ ملک کے حالات بالکل معمول کے مطابق تھے ۔ یہ مارشل لاء ایک سازش کا نتیجہ تھا جو ۱۹۵۴ء سے شروع تھی ۔ ملک پر چار سال تک مارشل لاء کے تحت حکومت کرنے کے بعد مسٹر ایوب خاں کو ملک کو آئین عطا کرنے کا خیال آیا اور ایک ایسا آئین مرتب کیا گیا جو پاکستان پر ایک شخص کی حکومت کو دوام بخش سکے ۔ یہ آئین قوم کا نہیں بلکہ ایک

شخص کا تیار کردہ تھا جو خود اپنے آپ کا تقرر بھی کر سکتا ہے اور جو اپنے آپکو برطرف بھی کر سکتا ہے ۔ مارشل لاء کی جگہ آمرانہ جمہوریت نافذ کرنے کی وجہ یہ تھی کہ دنیا کی نظروں میں پاکستان کا مذاق اڑایا نہ جائے ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان نے شخصی حکومت کو ہمیشہ کے لئے برقرار رکھنے کی غرض سے عجیب و غریب حربے استعمال کئے ۔ مسٹر ایوب خان نے برطانوی سامراج کی ملازمت کی ہے ۔ اس لئے وہ اپنے آپ میں حب الوطنی کا وہ جذبہ اور ایثار پیدا نہیں کر سکتے جو ایک ایسی قوم کے لئے ضروری ہے جس نے کئی سالوں تک جد و جہد اور قربانیوں کے بعد آزادی حاصل کی ہو ۔ (آپ نے مسٹر ایوب خان کو مشورہ دیا کہ وہ) اپنی سرگرمیاں فوجی امور تک محدود رکھیں کیونکہ اس طرح وہ پاکستان کے لئے زیادہ مفید ثابت ہو سکتے ہیں ۔

لوگوں کو دھوکہ دینے کے لئے مسٹر ایوب خان بچوں کی طرح میرے متعلق پریوں کی کہانیاں سناتے ہیں ۔ وہ کہتے ہیں کہ اگر میں کبھی سیاسی امور میں مداخلت کرتی تو قائد اعظم مجھے کمرے میں بند کر دیتے تھے لیکن میں ان سے پوچھتی ہوں کہ بانیٔ پاکستان ہر جگہ مجھے اپنے ساتھ کیوں لے کر جاتے تھے ۔ میرے خلاف یہ الزام بھی ہے کہ میں پاکستان کو اپنی میراث سمجھتی ہوں ۔ (آپ نے کہا کہ) میں ایک شہری کی حیثیت سے رہ رہی ہوں اور اس ملک کو میں نے کبھی اپنی جائداد نہیں سمجھا ۔ (مادر ملت نے کہا) اسمبلی کو دو تہائی بجٹ پر کوئی اختیار نہیں اس کے باوجود اسمبلی کے ممبروں کو عوام کا نمائندہ کہا جاتا ہے کیا یہ جمہوریت ہے ؟ (آپ نے کہا) تمام اختیارات سنبھالنے اور اسمبلیوں کو بے اختیار ادارے بنا دینے کے باوجود مسٹر ایوب خان کہتے ہیں کہ وہ ڈکٹیٹر نہیں ۔ (مادر ملت نے کہا) ڈکٹیٹر کی اور کیا تشریح ہوتی ہے ؟ (آپ نے کہا) مسٹر ایوب خان مکمل طور پر ڈکٹیٹر ہیں ۔ (مادر ملت نے پنڈال کے ارد گرد پولیس اور فوج کی

موجودگی پر حیرت کا اظہار کیا اور کہا کہ) میں پوچھتی ہوں کہ کیا ان جلوسوں سے بغاوت پھیلنے کا خدشہ ہے ۔ بے گناہ اور معصوم لوگوں پر لاٹھی چارج کیا جا رہا ہے (آپ نے راجشاہی میں غنڈہ گردی کی مذمت کی اور کہا کہ) متحدہ حزب اختلاف کے حامیوں کو ڈرانے دھمکانے کے لئے ان کرایہ کے غنڈوں کی آہنی ٹوپیاں پہنے ہوئے پولیس حفاظت کر رہی تھی ۔ راجشاہی میں تقریباً پچاس طلبا زخمی ہوئے اور لاٹھی چارج سے کئی لوگوں کی ٹانگیں اور بازو توڑ دئیے گئے ۔ اگر مسٹر ایوب خاں اس صورت حال کو کنٹرول نہیں کر سکتے تو ملک کو استحکام کیا دے سکتے ہیں ۔ دراصل مسٹر ایوب خاں لوگوں سے ڈرتے ہیں ، اس وجہ سے تعارفی جلسہ میں انہوں نے پولیس لگا رکھی ہے ۔ جہاں تک میرا تعلق ہے مجھے پولیس کی ضرورت نہیں کیونکہ میں عوام میں سے ہوں ۔

The following are the questions put to Madar-i-Millat after her speech and her replies thereto.

(*Editor*)

سوالات کے جواب

بنیادی جمہوریتوں کے متعلق ایک سوال کا جواب دیتے ہوئے مادر ملت نے کہا کہ یہ نظام قائم رہے گا جب کہ انہیں مزید اختیارات دئیے جائیں گے ۔ ایک اور سوال پر کہ آپ ملک کے صدر منتخب ہونے کے بعد کیا اتحاد برقرار رکھ سکیں گی ۔ مادر ملت نے کہا کہ ہم زیادہ استحکام اور اتحاد پیدا کریں گے ۔ اس وقت ملک میں کوئی اتحاد نہیں ۔ اسمبلیوں میں اقلیتوں کی نمائندگی کے متعلق ایک سوال پر مادر ملت نے بتایا کہ اقلیتوں کو پاکستان کے دوسرے شہریوں کی طرح نمائندگی ملے گی ۔ ایک ممبر نے پوچھا کہ آپ صدر بننے کے بعد رشوت ستانی اور لوگوں پر جبر و تشدد کس طرح ختم کریں گی ۔ مادر ملت نے جواب دیا کہ رشوت ستانی ختم کرنے کے لئے ہر ممکن طریقہ اختیار کیا جائے گا ۔

دفاعی پالیسی کے متعلق ایک سوال پر مادر ملت نے بتایا کہ وہ موجودہ دفاعی پالیسی کی تفصیلات سے آگاہ نہیں ۔ صدر بننے کے بعد آپ اپنی پالیسی کی وضاحت کر سکیں گی ۔ خارجہ پالیسی کے متعلق ایک سوال پر آپ نے کہا کہ یہ نہایت اہم مسئلہ ہے لیکن خارجہ پالیسی کو کبھی عوام کے سامنے نہیں رکھا گیا ۔ موجودہ حکمرانوں کو خود اس بات کا علم نہیں کہ ملک کی خارجہ پالیسی کیا ہے ۔

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177. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING AT BARISAL, 1964

The following is the Press report of the speech delivered by Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah at a public meeting at Barisal in December, 1964.

(Editor)

"Addressing the gathering on the river bank Miss Jinnah criticised the present regime and urged the people to fight for their sovereignty and democratic rights.

The C O P Presidential Candidate said, "Quaid-i-Azam created Pakistan not for the rule of a few privileged people but for a homeland of the Muslim." She asked the people to get united against the present rule which she described as oppression.

ELECTION

Miss Jinnah claimed that people had given the judgment in her favour. She urged the people to realise importance of next election and asked her audience to influence their Representatives to the Electoral College. Miss Jinnah said that only three months back the people had put her as their nominee to contest the Presidential Election against Mr. Ayub Khan. She responded to save the country from slavery.

Miss Jinnah addressed another riverside meeting at Hizla, only five miles away from the former venue. She said the present Government was making the poor people poorer and the rich richer. She deplored that prices of essential commodities were going abnormally high , even onions are to be purchased at Rs. four per seer, a price out of reach of the common man.

INTEREST

Addressing a meeting at Barisal, Miss Fatima Jinnah asked the people to be vigilant and alert even if she was elected in the next Presidential Election to guide the rulers and guard the interest of the nation.

Miss Jinnah urged the people to be united to struggle hard for the achievement of the people's right which, she alleged, the present regime had snatched away.

Miss Jinnah described her experience at the projection meetings at four divisional headquarters of the province and said that President Ayub attended these meetings under heavy police guard, even then there were demonstrations. Miss Jinnah, criticising the newspapers which supported the Government view, observed these newspapers were publishing everyday speeches of Mr. Ayub which contained nothing. She said "Pakistan was achieved through the sacrifices of the people and not through military show."

178. SPEECH AT NARAINGUNJ RAILWAY STATION

Following is the Press version of Madar-i-Millat speech delivered at a large gethering on the Narainganj Railway Station on her way from Barisal to Dacca in December, 1964.

(*Editor*)

متحدہ حزب اختلاف کی صدارتی امیدوار محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے آج یہاں پھر کہا کہ اگر وہ برسر اقتدار آگئیں تو بنیادی جمہوریتوں کو سرکاری تسلط سے آزاد کردیں گی اور انہیں زیادہ سہولتیں فراہم کریں گی تاکہ وہ صحیح معنوں میں عوام کی بھلائی کا کام کرسکیں۔ مادر ملت نے اپنی برجستہ تقریر میں انتخابی ادارے کے ممبروں پر جو وہاں کثیر تعداد میں موجود تھے زور دیا کہ وہ اس موقع سے فائدہ اٹھائیں اور اپنا ووٹ عوام کی رائے کے مطابق استعمال کریں کیونکہ انکی جڑیں عوام میں ہیں۔ مس جناح نے کہا کہ وہ بنیادی جمہوریتوں کے ممبروں کا بہت زیادہ احترام کرتی ہیں کیونکہ وہ عوام کے صحیح نمائندے ہیں۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ ممبروں کو پانچ سال کے لئے اپنے عہدہ کی مدت کے بارے میں کوئی شبہ نہیں ہونا چاہیئے۔ اگر متحدہ حزب اختلاف برسر اقتدار آگیا تو بنیادی جمہوریتوں کے ممبروں کو قومی اور صوبائی اسمبلیوں کے ممبر منتخب کرنے کا حق حاصل ہوگا۔

مادر ملت نے اپنی تقریر جاری رکھتے ہوئے کہا کہ انکے حق میں ووٹ دے کر انتخابی ادارے کے ممبروں کو سب سے بڑا فائدہ یہ پہنچے گا کہ ان کو انتظامیہ کے شکنجوں سے مکمل آزدی حاصل ہوجائے گی اور وہ اپنے معاملات اپنی خواہش کے مطابق طے کرسکیں گے۔ انہوں نے یونین کونسلوں

اور کمیٹیوں کے ممبروں پر بھی زور دیا کہ وہ خود سے یہ سوال کریں کہ آیا وہ اپنے امور میں سرکاری مداخلت کو خوشی سے قبول کرتے ہیں۔ مادر ملت نے کہا انتخابی ادارے کے ممبر محب وطن شہری ہیں اور وہ غلامی کے طوق کو کبھی قبول نہیں کریں گے۔ انھوں نے کہا کہ پاکستان صرف چند خاندانوں کی خوش‌حالی کے لئے نہیں حاصل کیا گیا تھا۔ بلکہ برصغیر کے مسلمانوں کی عام بھلائی کے لئے قائم کیا گیا تھا۔ جب مادر ملت نے اعلان کیا کہ انشاالله فتح ہماری ہوگی تو لوگوں نے مادر ملت زندہ باد اور پاکستان زندہ‌باد کے پرجوش نعرے لگائے۔

"میں نے تعارفی جلسوں کے سلسلہ میں ملک کے دونوں حصوں کا دورہ بھی مکمل کیا ہے۔ میں انتخابی ادارے کے ممبروں سے ملاقات اور ان سے خطاب کرنے کا یہ موقع پاکر بہت خوش ہوئی ہوں۔ ممبروں نے گہری دلچسپی کا مظاہرہ کیا ہے اور انہوں نے زیادہ تعداد میں اس صدارتی انتخاب میں ہمارے موقف کو سمجھا ہے۔ میں خوش ہوں کہ ان جلسوں نے میرے خلاف بڑے پیمانے پر کئے جانے والے پروپیگنڈہ کو غلط ثابت کردیا ہے۔ ان سے ممبروں کو ہمارا پروگرام سمجھنے اور اپنا امیدوار منتخب کرنے کے بارے میں رائے قائم کرنے میں مدد ملی ہے۔ یہ بات ہر شخص جانتا ہے کہ ہم جمہوریت چاہتے ہیں۔ اور نظریۂ پاکستان کی تکمیل چاہتے ہیں۔ جس کو فرد واحد کے ہاتھوں میں تمام طاقت جمع ہوجانے سے خطرہ لاحق ہوگیا ہے"۔

179. STATEMENT ISSUED TO THE PRESS IN 1964

Madar-i-Millat issued the following statement to the press in December, 1964,

(Editor)

"On January 2, 1965, the Members of the Electoral College go to the polls to elect a new President for the succeeding term.

People of Pakistan will remember that every step taken in connection with the holding of this Presidential Election smacks of indecent haste. Nominations were invited within three days. Polling day was fixed with minimum statutory period, although new President takes over the office on March 23, 1965, and the Presidential Election could be completed up'o the March 7, 1965 *i. e.* even a month after the end of Ramazan. However, that may be, the country has rallied round the banner of democracy in a magnificent way. Today the whole country is throbbing and pulsating with a new life, vigour enthusiasm and purpose. In every nook and corner of East and West Pakistan, young and old, the peasant, farmer, hari, artisan, worker, labourer, student and indeed people belonging to every walk of life have demanded restoration of democracy with one voice and sought deliverance from a highly corrupt and nepotic dictatorship.

Corruption has reached new dimensions in Pakistan during the period of the rule of controlled democracy. Near and dear of the highest in the land are making hay while the sun shines. They are naturally perturbed at the prospect of the setting of the sun. Never before in the history of the country, was anything nearer the present level of corruption. Never before had the prestige of Pakistan gone lower.

CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

Today, the country is passing through a critical economic situation. While a few families are busy amassing the fruits of toils of the masses, the people are groaning in abject poverty. Prices of the necessities of life have sky rocketted and made themselves beyond the reach of the common man. The ghost of development and prosperity only exists through the well laid propaganda machinery.

Condition of the masses is so pitiable that there is general discontent and disappointment all over the country. Prosperity of the country is shared by a coterie in a watertight compartment and nothing is allowed to trickle down to the down-trodden millions.

PRESS AND PRESS TRUST ORDINANCE

Under the threats of the Press Ordinance and Press Trust Ordinance, the National Press has been gagged and throttled. Even so, some of the regional languages newspapers of both the Wings and a few English papers of East Pakistan have been facing the restrictions and limitations with courage and fortitude. Old English dailies who bannerline that they were founded by Quaid-i-Azam have forgotten his precepts and sold their souls. One feels staggered to note the depth to which they have sunk.

Political parties are being gagged by imposition of section 144 and ban on use of loudspeakers. Even the election propaganda meetings were systematically prohibited. Students have become a special target and face the dread of withdrawl of their degrees. Political workers and leaders are either in jail, detention or facing the jails. Only today, I have received reports that many of my polling agents, both in East and West Pakistan, have been arrested and many are to follow. Spiral of increasing prices has cast a gloom to many a smiling million. Medical care, drugs and treatment are beyond the reach of the suffering humanity.

This unfortunate condition of the country may become worse, if the authoritarian rule has another lease of life. If the miseries of the people should end early, the regime that is directly responsible for this state of affairs must be scrapped. Otherwise, the present condition, worsened by the emboldened fury of a new horizon, will see the dawn of supersonic corruption, dishonesty, maladministration and poverty.

The only way to end the life of misery and shame is to make the Government of the day responsive and responsible to the people and their needs and aspirations. Democracy is the only remedy of these ills. But we must recognise that those who have tasted blood, tears and toils of the milllions to become millionaires and billionaires are not likely to leave the reigns of office without resorting to worst form of force, intimidation, coercion, favouritism and guile. Already, the administrative machinery has been used for political purposes in a big and systematic way. Law and order is deliberately and under a set plan made a victim of terrorism and loot. Terrorism, supported by connivance and even active assistance of the custodians of law and order is already on display in Karachi, Hyderabad, Dacca, and elsewhere.

WATCHWORD

My advice to the people and the Members of the Electoral College is to know your own inherent strength and use it for the good of the people and the present and future generations. In this task, they may have to face privations, trials and tribulations. But they should be prepared. The day of

deliverance is not far off. Let not the suffering create terror or fright. Patience, fortitude and forebearance should be the watchword.

In the meanwhile, the people and Members of Electoral College must help each other to march together for a common destiny of a mighty, powerful, happy and clean Pakistan, free from fear, favour, nepotism and corruption.

Let us resolve to make the country prosperous and happy for the common man. Let us join hands to get rid of the usurpers, strangulators and gangsters. Let the people endeavour to re-assert their sovereignty so that Pakistan becomes a land of Quaid-i-Azam's dream, worthy of its founder and the people."

180. PRESS STATEMENT ON THE EVE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah, Combined Opposition Parties Presidential Candidate issued the following statement to the Press on the eve of Presidential Election, 1965.

(Editor)

"Tomorrow the Members of Electoral College go to polls to cast their votes for the Presidential election. A heavy responsibility lies upon their shoulders. The manner in which they discharge their obligations will determine the destiny of the country ; whether they want dictatorship with all the powers vesting in one man or democracy with the sovereignty vesting in the people.

I undertook several countrywide tours in connection with the election campaign. I also visited several parts of the country to attend the confrontation meetings. Wherever I went I was deeply impressed by the overwhelming support people gave to my programme and policy. People's full support has justified my belief that our demand for full democracy is the demand of the people who will not rest content until they achieve their cherished objective. People are yearning for restoration of democracy.

As you know Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan has unleashed his election compaign through the medium of Government Controlled News Agencies and Radio and Trust Papers as well as Government Advertisement Distribution Agencies. He has also been utilizing the administrative machinery and is conducting a misleading propaganda against the Opposition. I hope the Members of the Electoral College will not be affected by it and will stand by their own conviction.

I do not have these facilities but in spite of the handicaps the people as well as the Members of the Electoral College have demonstrated their support in our favour because our cause is their own and it is just.

Today the whole of Pakistan both East and West is united as never before after the death of Quaid-i-Azam under the banner of democracy. Restoration of democracy has now become an article of faith with them.

In a nutshell my policy and programme consists of endeavours for restoration of democracy, ensuring social, economical, political and educational

progress aimed at the general welfare of the masses, repeal of all repressive, coercive and oppressive and black laws like the Security Act, Press Ordinance University Ordinance and the like, eradication of corruption, nepotism and favouritism and cutting down all extravagant and unnecessary Government expenditure. We want to free the political prisoners and detenus.

Mr. Ayub Khan is himself the architect of the present state of affairs in the country. Never before in the history of Pakistan the prestige of the country has gone down so low. Never before has the corruption become so daring, open and widespread ; never before has the people been so neglected, suppressed and oppressed ; never before was a Government so irrespnosible and unresponsive ; never before the nation suffered from sky-rocketing prices and inflation and never before has the country been subject to such gangsterism and show of force. The result has been that the people have been the worst sufferers. The economic condition of the country is extremely unfortunate. Throughout my tour of East and West Pakistan I could hardly see any sign of development benefitting the common man. Food imports after 1958 have risen from 27,27,000 to 46,45,000 tons. At the time when Martial Law was lifted and 1962 Constitution was promulgated the gold and foreign exchange reserves stood at 132.82 crores while in March 1956, which according to Mr. Ayub was a period of economic unstability these reserves stood at Rs. 134.81 crores. Present expenditure of the President's official residence which was 1.25 lakh is now trebled and gone up to 4.70 lakh.

Image of the present ruler has been so thoroughly laid bare that his continuance in office for another term will be a most unfortunate thing that one can imagine. The present regime is so thoroughly unpopular that even the confrontation meetings were required to be held in the cantonment areas under the heavy guard of the police and army. This is a dismal picture by any standard. There is such a wide gulf between the ruler and the people that he is afraid of them and seeks protection against the very people whom he claims to represent.

Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan has refused to declare his assets and those of his family members in spite of my repeated demands. He has been holding the highest office of Pakistan since 1958 and a charge of misuse of his powers for personal and family enrichment has been made agains him. The people, therefore, are entitled to know the extent of his present assets as they existed when he first assumed that office and his present assets and those of his family members.

When in August 1947 he was appointed a Liaison Officer on the border

force innumerable complaints were made against him by the refugees. The part he played at that time is anything but patriotic and the facts are well known to the country.

One year after Martial Law he was willing to sell the sovereignty of Pakistan by agreeing to joint defence with India. This he did without reference to or authority from people.

He sold the natural waters of the rivers of Pakistan for paltry sum of Rs. 900 crores and out of that amount artificial dams are being built, but their life will not go beyond 30 years or so with the result that the people of Pakistan will be left with no source of water supply.

Not only that but he has been generous with the transfer of border territories of Pakistan. He has parted with a large part of Pakistan territory without consulting the people. He handed over to India Pakistani territory without consulting the people. He handed over to India Pakistani territory without waiting for getting the Berubari enclave. India, therefore, refused to hand over Berubari and is taking full advantage of Mr. Ayub's mistake.

These instances which can easily be multiplied show the danger of one-man rule. It is clear that concentration of power in one man and its wrong exercise can create permanent danger and difficulties for the country.

Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan has used his unlimited executive and legislative powers for his personal benefit in such a flagrant manner that there is hardly any parallel. He appointed himself a Field Marshal and at will placed himself at half pay. Then when it suited his purpose, he superseded those orders and retired himself. When he realised that even those orders were illegal and incompetent he framed a new rule for his own benefit and again superseded the previous orders with retrospective effect. He did not hesitate to do all this although he knew that even in the army list of 1963 he was shown as on active service This is a result of one man rule and concentration of powers. He has done this purely for personal aims although he was under an oath under his own Constitution not to do so.

It is not true that democracy has failed in Pakistan. It was never allowed to function. It was strangulated and stagnated by intrigues of a trio who first toppled a Ministry, then the Constituent Assembly and then Constitution. It is thus a sad story of intrigue which can only be ended by securing the end of the last of the trio from the political scene of this country.

The democracy has not failed. With a proper leadership having really popular support it can lead the country to the height of glory. If such popular leadership comes into power there is no fear whatsoever of changing Ministries."

181. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Madar-i-Millat issued the following statement reminding the Members of the Electoral College of their duty on the eve of the Presidential Election, 1965.

(*Editor*)

"Today the Members of the Electoral College will take a momentous decision which will determine the future destiny of Pakistan. The choice before them is whether Pakistan should have a democratic and people's rule, or whether they would prefer an authoritarian and one-man rule.

Let us remember that the Pakistan Movement was conducted in a democratic spirit, with a democratic method and for a democratic end. We succeeded in achieving Pakistan after making tremendous sacrifices. The last few years, however, have been a crucial period during which the principles which laid the foundations of Pakistan and the ideology for which the people of Pakistan have always stood, were thrown overboard. An utter disregard of the wishes of the people has been the guiding philosophy of the present regime. Therefore, the main question underlying the present elections is the restoration of the ideological basis and the re-establishment of the democratic institutions in Pakistan.

The solidarity of Pakistan and its future glory depends upon strengthening those values which inspired this great movement and resulted in this great achievement.

We must always remember that sovereignty rests with the people. They are the masters of the country. No one is greater than Pakistan. Therefore, in all our present and future political activity, it must always be the people who should determine the course of action for the country and for themselves.

The vote that is now in the hands of the Members of the Electoral College is indeed a sacred trust, and I am sure that they will exercis e it today with responsbility and with full faith in themselves, in Allah and in the future glory and prosperity of a free, democratic Pakistan."

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182. STATEMENT AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah issued the following statement after the Presidential Election in January, 1965.

(Editor)

"The nation has heard last (Saturday) night's result of the Presidential election over the Radio and the verdict given by the Chief Election Commissioner that Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan has won the election by what he called an absolute majority even before the completion of what he himself termed as the procedural formalities.

Instances of serious irregularities and mal-practices committed at Polling Stations throughout the country are well known and it is inexplicable as to why the Chief Election Commissioner should have acted with such indecent haste. The entire conduct of these elections has been marred by flagrant official interference, police high-handedness, intimidation, corruption and bribery.

Moreover, they were held under the shadow of section 144, the provisions of which applied, in practice, only to C O P Workers. In these circumstances, the claim that these elections were fair and impartial, is absolutely untenable. I am, however, grateful to those 30,000 electors who had the courage to stand by their convictions and have voted according to their conscience in spite of all kinds of pressure.

The system under which these elections were fought was initially devised to perpetuate the power of existing incumbent of the Presidential Office. Neither does it provide room for the free expression of the popular will, nor does it conform to the known and established principles of democracy in the civilized world. Every man, woman and child in Pakistan and the outside world knows what the popular aspirations and demand of the people of Pakistan has been and yet the peculiarities of the existing system made the fulfilment of the demand impossible.

The recent election campaign has amply demonstrated that in this system the people have no effective means of ensuring that their wishes are reflected and registered in the final results and the trust reposed by them in the Electoral College is honestly, sincerely and faithfully discharged. It is, therefore. Unthinkable as to how the results of these elections can be regarded as

an endorsement of the Constitution and the policies and programmes of the present regime. There is no doubt that these elections have been rigged. I am sure that the so-called victory of Mr. Ayub Khan is his greatest defeat. The election campaign, as I have said before, was only a beginning of our march for the emancipation of the country from the shackles of an authoritarian rule. We shall, therefore, continue to work with renewed faith for the achievement of our destined goal and restore to the people their sovereignty which will usher in true democracy in the country."

183. STATEMENT ON KARACHI DISTURBANCES.

Following is the press report regarding disturbances in Karachi just after Presidential Election.

(*Editor*)

مادر ملت محترمہ فاطمہ جناح نے آج کے فسادات میں نقصان اٹھانے والوں سے دلی ہمدردی کا اظہار کیا ہے ۔ مادر ملت نے ایک بیان میں کہا ہے کہ مجھے اس خبر سے بڑا صدمہ پہنچا ہے کہ کراچی کے بعض علاقوں میں بے گناہ لوگوں پر حملے کئے گئے ۔ جس کے نتیجہ میں کئی افراد ہلاک اور متعدد زخمی ہوئے ۔ اور بے گناہ لوگوں کی املاک اور جھونپڑیاں وغیرہ تباہ کر دی گئیں ۔ مادر ملت نے مطالبہ کیا کہ ان فسادات کے اسباب معلوم کرنے کے لئے فوری طور پر تحقیقات کرائی جائے تاکہ جو لوگ اس کے ذمے دار ہیں ان کے خلاف قانونی کاروائی کی جا سکے اور ان علاقوں کے مظلوم باشندوں کے ساتھ انصاف ہو سکے ۔ مادر ملت نے متاثرہ علاقوں میں فوری امداد کے لئے پانچ ہزار روپے کا ذاتی عطیہ بھی دیا ہے ۔

184. PRESS STATEMENT ON THE DISTURBANCES IN KARACHI

Following statement was issued by Madar-i-Millat after inspecting the Karachi areas affected by the disturbances in January, 1965.

(Edior)

"I have visited some of the areas affected by the acts of vandalism in Karachi. The extent of havoc caused and the damage to the lives and property of innocent citizens is unbelievable. Nowhere in the civilized world can such acts of barbarism be allowed to happen. The burning of dewellings and the killing and wounding of innocent men, women and children has created heart-rending conditions and the plight of the affected people is miserable as they are forced to live in fear. The inadequate administrative arrangements indicate only the lack of stability and it appears that there is no one to safeguard the lives and property of the people.

I should like to repeat that a judicial inquiry be held immediately into these happenings so that the responsibility may be fixed and the culprits brought to book."

185. STATEMENT THANKING SUPPORTERS

Madar-i-Millat issued the following statement to the Press in January, 1965.

(Editor)

"I have been receiving a large number of messages, letters and telegrams from individuals and organizations all over Pakistan assuring me of their full support and co-operation in the continuance of our struggle for the restoration of democracy. I wish to thank them all and to say how deeply I appreciate the support and I am confident that democracy will triumph."

186. STATEMENT REGARDING DISTURBANCES

Madar-i-Millat visited Malir, Landhi areas and issued the following statement in January, 1965.

(Editor)

"The devastation that has been done is unbelievable and it seemed that the administration did nothing to safeguard the life, honour and property of the people as a result of which they have lost all faith in administration.

She asked the people to "continue their struggle for democracy and their rights and try to stand firmly on their feet."

187. EID-UL-FITR MESSAGE, 1965

Madar-i-Millat issued the following message on the Eid-ul-Fitr in February, 1965.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious day I extend to all the Pakistanis and the Mussalmans all over the world my heartiest Eid greetings.

The holy month of Ramazan is over and today is an occasion for rejoicing the festival of Eid after the fulfilment of the demands of duty for purification of our moral and spiritual fabric of life.

Unfortunately, this year our rejoicings are mingled with sorrow and grief. The families of those who have suffered during the recent disturbances in Karachi and those of the suffering students and those of victims of assassinations and murderous assaults cannot celebrate the Eid, as they should have done. The journalists, the intellectuals and people of the country will mourn the gruesome murder of Mr. Zamir Qureshi and extend sympathy with the bereaved family of the martyr of the freedom of the Press. The political and social workers of the country are shocked at dastardly attack on the life of Mr. Abdul Baqi Baluch, who is still in a serious condition in the hospital. The nation as a whole is groaning under an oppressive system of Government. The situation in the country indicates that the struggle for the restoration of democracy in this land of ours will be hard and exacting.

BIGGEST CONTRIBUTION

Our hearts and our sympathies go out to those individuals and those families who have suffered and who are still suffering. But we all know that their sufferings are not in vain. They are our history's biggest contribution for the glory and future of the people of Pakistan. They will be remembered by posterity with the greatest pride and honour.

Following, as it does, the Presidential elections that took place on 2nd January, 1965, this Eid has great importance as well as significance. The Presidential elections that were held almost on the eve of the holy month of Ramazan—the month of self-denial—are significant in several respects.

Although a senior C S P Officer who was appointed to fill in a post of the rank of a Supreme Court Judge, as Chief Election Commissioner, he thought it fit to make declaration of election results in clear contravention of the express provisions of the law on the subject. This step smacks of a

preconceived plan. The election itself was rigged as no election before in the history of this subcontinent. It is a black stigma even on the architects of corruption and rigged elections.

SOVEREIGNTY OF PEOPLE

Corruption, which I wanted to root out from this country, has been employed as a weapon to put an obstacle in the way of the people of Pakistan regaining their lost glory and sovereignty. Coercion, intimidation, detentions, repression and suppression were all employed in a ruthless and systematic way to rob the people of their right to determine for themselves the incumbent of the highest executive office in the country. Those who believed and canvassed for a method of ballot to reflect public opinion have received a rude shock.

Undoubtedly, the sovereignty of the people has been clearly established. The verdict of the people has been vividly and emphatically demonstrated before the bar of the world public opinion. Your efforts will not go in vain. You have worked with singleness of purpose and with true devotion and duty for your country. Your victory is snatched from you, but we shall march on with the banner of democracy which we have unfurled and carry the light of democracy symbolised in hurricane lamp which would shine for ever to lead them through darkness to the path of democracy and freedom. Carry this light to every nook and corner of Pakistan and keep up the present vigilance and watchfulness in the days to come. No power on earth could resist the rising tide of democracy that had engulfed the entire nation in the last three months.

RE-DEDICATIONS

Under these circumstances, Eid, following the month of Ramazan is an Eid of retrospect and rededication of the cause of democracy. The fight for liberty and people's sovereignty must be carried on in all directions. The light which was kindled in an effort for restoration of people's right to govern themselves will continue to burn until it envelopes all the evil forces and the people's right is finally re-established. People of the sovereign State of Pakistan are its real masters. Corruption, let loose in an unabashed manner, may halt their march to the attainment of their goal to guide the destiny of their nation temporarily, but I have not the slightest doubt that if the people are resolved to regain their sovereignty despite tremendous odds, they will triumph in the end.

The Eid, therefore, is an Eid of this resolve to rededicate ourselves to the cause of Pakistan and the sovereign right of the people of Pakistan.

We must march forward as victors, because there can be no defeat of the people, who alone, in the ultimate analysis, matter in a democratic country.

DREAMS OF QUAID

All the patriotic elements of the country must remain together in a final bid for re-establishment of democracy without which Pakistan cannot fulfil the dreams of its Architect, the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. I hope it will be sooner rather than later.

I, therefore, greet the people of Pakistan and Mussalmans all over the world on this day and wish them a happy Eid and assure that if they fight unitedly for their cause, no power on earth can resist the mighty will of the people and in this struggle, I shall always consider it my duty to associate myself with the people. Eid Mubarak."

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188. APPEAL TO SUPPORT C. O. P. NOMINEES

Following is the text of Madar-i-Millat's appeal made to the voters in March, 1965 to support the C. O. P., nominees in the Elections of 1965.

(Editor)

"Today in Pakistan the common man is being strangulated for meeting the burden of numerous tax holidays available to a wealthy few to get richer. Recently it has been stated that the shortfall of Rs. 300 crores in the next five year plan is to be met out of fresh taxation. This taxation will come out of the pockets of the groaning millions only to help the millionaires to become billionaires Such is the way of the present regime. Its policies are dictated under the garb of a paraphernalia of democratic institutions which are being used to still the voice of the people. We are undoubtedly passing through a critical phase. The faith in ballot system stands shattered, but the stakes are heavy. We have, therefore, to use all avenues of service of the people to accelerate the deliverance of the people.

As long as your support is there, I have nothing to fear. The victory will ultimately be ours. I shall continue to work and do my best to further the cause of the country and the people.

I, therefore, appeal to support our candidates in the interest of the country which was created by the Quaid-i-Azam as an independent sovereign and democratic State of Pakistan."

189. EID-UL-AZHA MESSAGE, 1965

The following message was issued by Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Eid-ul-Azha in April, 1965.

(*Editor*)

"On this auspicious day of Eid-ul-Azha I send my greetings to the Mussalmans all over the world in general and Pakistanis in particular. It is a day to commemorate the highest sacrifice in the cause one believed to be his own. This glittering example of Hazrat Ibrahim can be emulated by everybody in his own way by sacrificing his all for the glorious cause.

Today in Pakistan, we are passing through a critical time. There is a lot of talk of economic development, but the impact of such development is nowhere perceptible. People are groaning under the heavy load of poverty. Propaganda machinery will never succeed in brainwashing carried out by the self-imposed. Misfit talent cannot solve economic, industrial and other problems of the people. Freedom of the Press must be unconditional. Those who do not accept the limitation of a moral code in their own elections and other dealings cannot claim to demand a moral code for others. Voice of the people is not reflected in the pronounced verdict of the Election Commission. The gulf between the rulers and the people has become manifestly wider in the political life of the country to such an extent that one cannot but express anxiety at a manner in which people's voice has been throttled under the banner and bayonet.

Political future of Pakistan as a democratic country requires the heavy sacrifices from those who believe in the justness of the cause of democracy. Democracy calls for supreme sacrifices when it is in danger. We must pay the price not only to secure freedom but to preserve and conserve it for future generations.

The first essential thing for the people of Pakistan is organisation under one banner that should be held aloft as the banner of the people of Pakistan. It is unity, faith and discipline that is the crying need of the day. However, those who plead for this unity can only offer tears and toils in return for the efforts for the restoration of democracy. We are bitterly against those whose vision is clouded by the instinct of self-preservation and to them any means moral or immoral is good if it can serve their personal ends, the objective being self-interest rather than interest of the country. This is a very sad

state of affairs and it can only be eradicated by taking a lesson from the glorious pages of our history and no day is more opportune for such retrospection than the day of Eid-ul-Azha.

Let us all sink our differences and stand united together under the same banner under which we truly achieved Pakistan and let us demonstrate once again that we can unitedly face all dangers in the cause of glory of Pakistan—the glory that the Quaid-i-Azam envisaged for Pakistan.

In doing so we shall have to reckon with great many handicaps odds and difficulties. But if we are really determined we can prove that the glorious pages of Muslim history did not belong only to the Mussalmans of the past but to the Mussalmans of the present if they are equally prepared to re-write the same. I fully appreciate the wide support of the nation and their sympathies with me. I appeal to them not to be frustrated, but work hard in whatever walk of life they may be for our objective of democracy. So let our caravan march onwards however slowly but steadily, with the bugles of the Quaid-i-Azam on our shoulders till the success is achieved.

Wish you all happy Eid and hope that before long democracy will return to this country."

190. SPEECH AT COUNCIL MUSLIM LEAGUE SESSION, 1965

Press Report of Madar-i-Millat's speech at the concluding Session of the two-day Council Muslim League meeting at the Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi in June, 1965.

(*Editor*)

"You have got to root out corruption, social evils and raise the standard of living of the people so that the nation is proud of you and you earn a place for Pakistan among the comity of nations."

In a swipe at the press Miss Jinnah described as "mischievous, malicious and nasty" reports suggesting that she had backed out from the Council Muslim League by declining the Presidentship of the party. Such reports, she said, were only expected in a "Controlled Press."

SYNONYMOUS

Clarifying her position, she said she had declined the offer because she wanted someone more capable, physically, to shoulder the burden. She was greeted with slogans of "Zindabad" when she asserted that she was always with the Muslim League and will continue to be with it till the last.

She maintained that the Council Muslim League was the real successor to the party which gave birth to Pakistan. "Muslim League and Pakistan are synonymous. One cannot live without the other."

ELECTIONS

Referring to the various pitfalls faced by the party, Miss Jinnah said there may be disappointments and frustrations, "but so long as we believed in the cause and the party we belonged to, we have nothing to fear."

Whatever funds the party had, Miss Jinnah said were "taken away by the Conventionists." She appealed to every Pakistani Muslim to strengthen the party financially.

Alluding to the Presidential elections, Miss Jinnah said that despite acute scarcity of funds at the disposal of the COP and "intimidation, threats and coercion by the official machinery, we won the election."

We proved to the hilt that, if adult franchise were the basis, we would have won hands down," Miss Jinnah asserted. She was happy that businessmen and industrialists were groaning under the burden of increasing taxes and the threats of breaking cartels and monopolies. "They had deprived the people of their rights by giving crores of rupees to the ruling party for the election campaign," Miss Jinnah complained.

CYCLONE

Referring to the recent cyclone havoc in East Pakistan, she said she purposely did not rush to the press with a statement of condolence and sympathy because there was no point in lip service It was contribution that mattered.

Miss Jinnah asserted that sufficient relief was not being provided to the cyclone victims and the money donated for the purpose was not properly utilized.

"It is very sad indeed. It is about time something was done on a permanent basis instead of collecting funds for relief every year and squandering them."

191. INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE, 1965

Madar-i-Millat issued the following message to the nation on the eve of the 18th Independence Day in August, 1965.

(*Editor*)

"Today is the eighteenth anniversary of the birth of Pakistan. This day eighteen years ago, our flag was, for the first time, unfurled by Quaid-i-Azam, heralding the advent of our freedom and independence in the shape of a sovereign state when millions rejoiced in their victory and their emancipation from foreign rule.

Though eighteen years is not a long time in the life of a nation, yet for us it has been a very eventful and important period. We have encountered heavy odds and obstacles both internally and externally. We have been through various vicissitudes. We have passed through anxious moments, but we have never lost faith in our destiny,

BACKGROUND

Let us not forget that the movement for Pakistan was the outcome of democratic urge of a determined people. With this historical background Pakistan can attain her destiny for the soul of man yearns for free expression and fulfilment for which material benefits alone can be no substitute.

If I ask you for a moment to cast a glance at the spirit and atmosphere that prevailed at the inception of Pakistan it is only because I want you to recapture something of that spirit and that faith.

As we take stock of our achievements during the last eighteen years, the first question that strikes us is how far we have succeeded in realising our national aspirations which bestirred us to work for Pakistan. Let me remind you that mere establishment of Pakistan was not the end of our movement; it was means to a much higher and nobler end, namely a life of peace, plenty freedom and happiness for every citizen of the country.

The object of your freedom movement in reality was to secure an environment and opportunity for building up a freer, fuller and richer life extending its benefits and joys to all the people coming within its ambit. We can never afford to lose sight of this fundamental objective to our movement

which alone gives meaning and substance to our freedom and national existence.

SHOCKS

Since I spoke to you last, a year ago, on this day our national character has been put to test by a series of crises that shook the country and what a spectacle did we behold ? Here it was—man speaking against his conscience, acting against his conscience and even thinking against his conscience. During the past few months the country has been rocked with tremendous political shocks; methods have been used which were far from dignified in character but I am glad the people registered in no uncertain manner their disapproval of these methods.

These events, however, have brought out the painful reality that democratic institutions are still not allowed to function in a normal way. Thus in this land of hope and promise a combination of circumstances has given us shock after shock, brought about a state of uncertainty and shaken our national pride.

It is indeed an irony of history that a people who brought their state into existence through wise and fearless exercise of their franchise should today be asking for enfranchisement. There is hardly any independent country today where any doubt exists as to the desirability nay necessity of allowing every adult to choose by free expression of vote those to whom the affairs of the country should be entrusted.

Recent events have abundantly proved that in an effort of self-glorification and holding on to power and pelf, those in power have spared neither moral values nor political patronage nor even the coercive measures. Overwhelming public opinion failed to reflect itself.

Life, limb and liberty came under a heavy stress and many weak-minded crumbled before the show of might and glitter of gold. Those who pledged their word and even took solemn oaths succumbed under these conditions. In this pathetic way the outgoing year saw the temporary end of an era of great hopes and aspirations.

The question now arises why should a people who achieved a State in the teeth of the fiercest opposition known to the history with such grand and noble concepts before them find themselves in the sorry plight which has fallen them today. Why should there be despondency in place of hope ? Why should zest and determination be supplanted by apathy and lassitude ? Why should frustration and political waywardness take place of constructive enthusiasm and robust political activity ?

Democracy is the chosen path of Pakistan. It is in the blood of the people because the Pakistan movement had a democratic objective, and was brought to a successful culmination through purely democratic methods under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. Every Pakistani owes it to himself and his country that fully democratic order is evolved and all tendencies inimical to democracy are eliminated.

I earnestly appeal to the people of Pakistan to stand up bravely against all those forces which are creating chaos and confusion in the country. Let us go back to the days of 1947 when the flag of Pakistan was first unfurled and revive the same spirit and faith in yourself and march towards Pakistan's destiny as a democracy and thus fulfil the mission."

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192. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1965

The following is the text of the message issued by Madar-i-Millat on the eve of Quaid-i-Azam's Death Anniversary in September, 1965.

(Editor)

"Those who are trying to undo Pakistan shall never succeed. Pakistan shall live for ever.

Recent happenings have chilled the hearts of the people of goodwill Plebiscite is the fundamental human right of Kashmir. Colonialism has not paid any dividends even to the long established imperialistic powers and will certainly pay none to the new-comers in the field. The recent history is full of the attempts to suppress the popular will.

Let those who drain their resources read the writings on the wall. The indissoluble ties that exist between us, neither silver can buy nor bullets can suppress. We will march towards our destined goal and accomplish our rights inspite of the heavy odds in our way.

Today, 17 years after the death of the Quaid-i-Azam my mind goes back to the time when he successfully led the nation to its goal of a free independent sovereign State. He symbolised in himself the hopes and aspirations of a hundred million people. They put their whole-hearted trust in him and he had full faith in them. Both justified each other's trust. That was the secret of the incredible strength and forces with which he fought and won the battle of freedom for a down-trodden people in the teeth of the fiercest opposition. History furnishes few examples of such close identification of the genesis and structure of a country with the life and thoughts of its Founder, as is the case with the Pakistan and the Quaid-i-Azam. Even though 17 years have elapsed since his physical departure from our midst, he still remains the sheet-anchor of Pakistan. His deeds and his words continue to be a source of perennial inspiration to the people in moments both of joy and sorrow.

NO CAUSE OF DESPAIR

So long as there is a flicker of that spirit which the Quaid-i-Azam kindled in our hearts so long as our faith in the ideals he inculcated remains undimmed, even though our steps falter the example and teaching of the Quaid-i-Azam will survive and therefore, we have no cause to give in to despair. In

spite of all the vicissitudes we have passed through and all the jolts we have experienced, I am convinced the gaze of the people remains fixed on the destiny which the Quaid-i-Azam visualised for them.

The Mussalmans have weathered a mighty avalanche and have steered through the storm to assert their separate entity and struggle for Pakistan or to the period immediately following its struggle for Pakistan or to the period immediately following its establishment, we can well imagine that in the hour of trial, they can muster once again the same faith, courage and self-reliance to fight the present situation and I have faith in the nation to do so.

HOLD FAST TO FAITH

Life of an individual as much as of a nation is a struggle and in this struggle triumph is assured to those who hold fast to their faith and refuse to be subjugated.

War has been thrusted on us. Air attacks have also been launched, but the Mussalman rises to this great height under heavy stress. The Indian army, which crossed into Pakistan, has been befittingly repelled, but now, that they have dared to violate the sanctity of our soil, the State created by our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, I expect every Mussalman to give crushing blow to the aggressors and march towards our destiny with faith and courage. Those who are trying to undo Pakistan shall never succeed. Pakistan shall live for ever. "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

193. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1965

Following is the text of the Madar-i-Millat's message to the nation on the Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday in December, 1965.

(Editor)

"Today when we celebrate the birthday of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, we find ourselves surrounded by the unpleasant grim situations which may prove grave with far-reaching consequences, one cannot refrain from expressing great apprehensions underlying them. This is because you have unlearnt the lessons after the demise of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Pakistan came into being because hundred million Mussalmans of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent devoted themselves sincerely to the precepts, principles and teachings of the Quaid-i-Azam. The selfless devotion of the people to those teachings ushered in a new State of Pakistan on the map of the world within a period of seven years. Unfortunately, the people of Pakistan are being diverted away from those principles, precepts and teachings which culminated into the glorious establishment of Pakistan. It is the duty of the people to sift the right from the wrong and follow the right and discard the wrong.

PATH OF COURAGE

I am sure that the glorious path of courage, service and sacrifice as demonstrated by the Quaid-i-Azam would always be a beacon light and source of inspiration to all of us for all the times to come. It is high time to take stock as to how far we have been able to translate into practice the ideals and values he indicated. Throughout his long public career, the Quaid-i-Azam distinguished himself by sacrificing all personal ambitions and interests to the national cause, subordinating all mundane considerations to ethical principles and moral ends, taking his stand on well-defined principles and ideals as against considerations of expediency, giving in short, moral tones and bases to all his activities. At moments, the mind sees his warning finger, although he is no more with us, yet his great personality inspires us. What a vacuum yawns between life and death and what a difference between man and man.

Here I would like to say a word about the terrible cyclone which caused tremendous damage and loss tearing as under thousands of people from their hearths and homes. My deepest sympathies to those who have suffered. Undoubtedly, the best way to deal with the problem is to initiate permanent solution to the recurring cyclones.

Science has developed enough to help us do it.

Your nation and you have to fulfil your destiny. This you can do only if you have faith in yourselves. I pray that the courage of your convictions will help you to face enemies of the country, may they be from within or from without. Never compromise on questions of principles. Those who have attained greatness would not hesitate to sacrifice their all and draw the sword whenever a question of principle was involved. They would rather lose their lives than lose principles. No temptations that this world could offer ever interfered with their conduct. The Quaid-i-Azam also followed that noble principle. You know that on the question of principles he never compromised.

I would, therefore, appeal to you and impress upon you that it is also your sacred duty to your God, to your country and to your Millat that you do not waver. You, who are the inheritors of the greatest spiritual and worldly heritage, would never compromise your principles whatever may be the temptations offered or sufferings threatened. Those principles you must apply to your own personal struggles in life as well as those of your country.

May God help and protect you."

194. EID-UL-FITR MESSAGE, 1966

The following is the text of the message issued by Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Eid-ul-Fitr in January, 1966.

(Editor)

"The Eid-ul-Fitr which we celebrate today is of extremely significant character in many respects. Being Muslims, it is our bounden duty to adhere to the principles of self-discipline, self-reliance and sacrifice which spring from the doctrine of fasting in Islam.

Those of us who have gone through this ordeal and accomplished the task in the sacred month of Ramazan, I take the opportunity of extending my heartiest greetings to them as well as to my brethren in faith all over the world.

While we enjoy the blessings of Eid, our hearts are heavily burdened with critical conditions and devastation of Kashmir people who had to suffer and pay a heavy price for no fault of their own. We are also extremely mindful of the splendid memory of our gallant martyrs who laid down their precious lives in order to preserve the honour of the people and to defend the sacred soil of this country. Obviously, the people have every right to check the balance-sheet, because the sovereignty rests with them. Let us examine what is the net result of all these sacrifices. Viewed under this context, one is baffled to find the positive gains and net results. What the blood of our brave soldiers achieved was thrown away at the conference table.

The interpretations and explanation of Tashkent Declaration do not solve the issue and problems of Kashmir and Pakistan for which the people of Kashmir and Pakistan were subjected to numerous hardships and extreme sacrifices. The crux of the matter is that the fate of Kashmir miserably lingers on as before. Under the circumstances, it would be wishful thinking to hope against hope for a better end.

It is proudly claimed that the Tashkent Declaration would pave the way for the settlement of Kashmir dispute. Is not it a bitter fact that for the past 18 years, we have been constantly and painfully paving the way for the solution of down-trodden Kashmiris? Naturally, the question arises as to where does it lead to and what is ultimate end of it? Judged, therefore, from the realistic point of view, it must be said that the Tashkent Declaration

betrays lack of sagacity, wisdom, foresight and vision on the part of those who accepted, signed, sealed and delivered on behalf of Pakistan. An attempt to explain it away only adds insult to injury and hurts the cause of the people of Jammu and Kashmir as well as of Pakistan in an irreparable way. The reaction of the people of Pakistan has been sharp and hostile. Attempts have been made to soothe down the truth of reaction but it will not succeed.

In order to achieve our objectives and a destined place in the comity of nations, we will have to build up a truly democratic society and to rely on ourselves and our resources. And in doing so, we will have to dedicate to the ideals of Pakistan and to the footprints of Quaid-i-Azam."

195. EID-UL AZHA MESSAGE, 1966

Following is the text of the message given by Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah on the eve of Eid-ul-Azha in April, 1966.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious day of Eid-ul-Azha, I extend my hearties greetings to our people and my brethren in faith all over the world.

This holy day signifies the importance of a noble and a paramount cause for the attainment of which no difficulties and problems were worth of consideration, and no sacrifice, however extreme and intense may be, was regarded greater and painful. This is the glorious lesson of Islam which is a beacon light for all of us and for all the times to come.

Imbued with the spirit of sincerity, service and sacrifice we created history in the world and carved out a destiny of our own and a homeland of our people in the teeth of opposition and heavy odds under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam.

This unparalleled achievement was due to our firm faith in the belief that in Pakistan there would be real functioning of democracy from people's mayorship of corporation to the highest office of the country, and that there would be freedom of speech and expression, adult franchise, rule of law and economic equality and opportunity to all—and not to a handful of privileged class.

QUAID'S OBJECTIVES

These were the cherished objectives of Quaid-i-Azam. Unless and until we achieve them, we will not only go on groping in the dark with frustration and mental agony, but will also be betraying the Quaid's trust and the confidence of the people who are the real sovereigns of the country.

It is, therefore, imperative that there should be complete democratisation of the Constitution by the real and chosen representatives of the people, in the absence of which the outlet of the public will always be unpleasant and destructive to our national honour unity and discipline.

The recent utterances by persons at the helm of affairs are extremely unpleasant, immature and uncalled for and devoid of basic wisdom and elementary principle of statesmanship.

It is an established fact that the language of weapon and aggression and branding the politicians as traitors have not solved the issues and problems of the country in the past nor will it do so in future.

POLITICIANS ACHIEVEMENTS

Nobody can dare to deny this glaring fact that it were the politicians and politicians alone who were responsible for the creation of Pakistan on the map of the world.

It were they who nursed, nourished and made it so strong as to be reckoned with in the comity of nations as an independent and sovereign country.

It was again in the days of politicians and due to stability in the country that India could never dare to attack the sovereignty of our country by crossing the international boundary.

I have full faith in the destiny and ultimate victory of our people in every walk of life. The light that has already been lit will surely dispel the darkness. But in order to achieve our noble objectives, we will have to work and work hard so that the concept "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" may not take firm root in our sacred soil. Pakistan Paindabad."

196. INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE, 1966

The following is the text of the message of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah to the nation on the eve of Independence Day in August, 1966.

(Editor)

"Today, while we celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of our independence, our thoughts are filled with the unforgettable memory of the year of 1947, when under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, the glorious freedom movement reached its climax in the face of bitterest opposition and obstacles and ultimately, Pakistan emerged on the map of the world as a free, independent and sovereign country, an achievement unknown in the annals of history. This was possible because we were all united under one platform and one flag and had a mission to achieve our goal. The green flag with the crescent became the symbol of determination, solidarity and fraternity for all the people who believe in equality and social justice.

Thus, we laid down the foundation of a new era for an honourable and prosperous life for every one of us and to provide equal opportunities to all so as to mould our lives as useful, enlightened and patriotic citizens of the country in a free and independent environment. How far we have been able to translate the ideals of Pakistan is surely subject to question.

The path of insurmountable courage, strong will and dedicated service as demonstrated by Quaid-i-Azam, undoubtedly became a source of beacon light in facing the challenge of time and circumstances. His historical words that "Pakistan has come to stay" prove his verdict in un-ambiguous terms particularly during last September War on our sacred soil, in which the people from Khyber to Chittagong stood firm like a rock and made tremendous sacrifices of men and material both for the safety and survival of the country. This proves to the hilt once again their sense of responsibility and duty even at the time of crisis and that they are capable to conduct the affairs of the country.

NOT VERY BRIGHT

It is really a sad fact that not only in the political field, but also in the economic sphere, the picture as a whole is not very bright. People are groaning under heavy taxes imposed and the common man is the worst

victim and sufferer. It must be fully realized that political independence without economic independence is a shadow without substance. It is my firm belief that unless and until the man in the street is provided with the primary necessities of life, the very concept of Pakistan shall remain incomplete, as Pakistan came into existence not for few individuals, but for the amelioration of the conditions of the teeming masses who are the real sovereigns of the country.

It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that such conditions should be created in which, 'if a man goes to distribute charity in a bazar, there is no one to receive charity.' Here lies the salvation of our problems, otherwise, we shall go on groping in the dark and multiplying our problems after problems.

ULTIMATE DESTINY

I must say that I do believe in the ultimate destiny and victory of our people. The only thing, which is of paramount importance to be realized by every one of us, is to search our hearts in real earnest and to dedicate ourselves to the task of building-up of a true democratic society for the prosperity of the people as a whole, and to enhance the prestige and glory of the country in the comity of nations as a self-respecting and self-relying independent sovereign State. For the accomplishment of these noble pursuits, we will have to make honest efforts and work tirelessly among the masses and villages to eradicate the curse of ignorance, fear and exploitation, as the supreme power lies in the people and people alone. In this way, we will be fulfilling the ideals of Pakistan and the noble expectation of the Father of nation Quaid-i-Azam.

During the last two years, the country has gone through ruthless upheavals but the people have bravely faced every event that came with wonderful courage and foresight. Do not remain as silent spectators, create inherent strength and with faith in your destiny, go forward with courage and determination towards your goal laid down by Quaid-i-Azam and success will be yours."

197. STATEMENT ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, 1966

The following is the text of the statement issued by Madar-Millat Fatima Jinnah on the 18th death anniversary of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in September, 1966.

(Editor)

"Today while we are observing the eighteenth death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam we find ourselves surrounded by unpleasant situations, which are certainly not conducive to the growth of a free people and independent sovereign State.

The prevailing conditions lead to frustration and heighten fear, agony and suffocation among the people which is undoubtedly a great challenge to the dynamic nation and living and patriotic people of our country.

Surely, this was not the concept of Pakistan, visualized by the Quaid-i-Azam, who so laboriously toiled for it even at the cost of his failing health and dear life, but made Pakistan a living monument in the pages of history for all times to come, so that, the people as a whole may enjoy the fruits of freedom and liberty, honourable living with economic independence and a destined place in the comity of nations as a selfrespecting nation.

LAND OF FAITH, GLORY

The hundred million Muslims under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam worked and fought for Pakistan so that we and the coming generations may live therein freely and in honour to lead simple, honest and purposeful lives and not to suffocate in an atmosphere laden with fear and exploitation. Let us exert and work hard to make Pakistan in real sense, the land of our faith, our pride, our glory and our destiny.

People who faced the heaviest odds and through wise exercise of their franchise defeated the opponents' designs and brought Pakistan into being do not deserve to be told that they are not fit for full-fledged democracy.

Today the Press is under the dread of the Press Ordinance and the Press Trust. Political workers are being arrested, detained and externed (Section 144 is promulgated in all important cities of the country). Even on the observance of the 'Defence Day,' which was fixed on 6th September, Section 144 was promulgated in all the important cities of the country, thus public was not allowed to participate and to express their feelings.

COUNTRY'S DEFENCE

Why this fear of the masses ? It is a clear testimony of history that the greatest defence of the country has always been and shall always remain the will of the people and not merely the conventional weapons, because, it is they who are the real sovereigns and fountain of power and the greatest source of inspiration. And also in the ultimate analysis, it is they who bear the brunt and pay the price with sweat or sorrow.

It is pertinent to note the situation of the country today. The common man's lot is as helpless as before. It can be no consolation to a man groaning under the burden of rising cost of living to see that a number of factories and mills have been set up ; that more palatial houses are going up, and there are more shining limousines in the country.

The most serious matter of concern to the people today is the spiralling of prices of consumer goods and even the prices of basic foodstuff. Either there is no machinery or no will to check the prices and keep them on reasonable level.

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Those who roll in wealth and affluence should realize that the real producer of all the wealth and goods and comforts is the common man. Unless they develop social consciousness and learn to create conditions, in which the people are assured of decent living, food, housing, medical facilities and children's education etc., the country cannot attain the real progress and prosperity.

Here, I wish to take the opportunity to point out the unabated and ever-expanding curse of corruption that has almost engulfed the entire society in the length and breadth of the country, which is an extremely dangerous symptom and a black stigma on the fair name of Pakistan and poor masses, who are the real sovereigns of the country.

And the worst aspect of this curse is to the effect that it is openly practised, persisted and rather preached as if there is no one to see and check, with the result that the very back of the teeming masses has almost broken. Is it called improvement of administration or is it the name of development ?

Eighteen years ago, soon after the demise of the Quaid-i-Azam, the Committee known as Quaid-i-Azam Memorial Fund Committee was formed to which people subscribed generously. Large amount of money was collected. The work of the construction of the mausoleum should have been ready and completed by 1963. But unjustified long delay has been done with reasons best known to the persons at the helm of affairs.

Here, suffice it to say that the public has every right to know the position of accounts of Quaid-i-Azam Memorial Fund Committee, *i.e.* the expenses incurred so far and the balance in hand, as it is the people's money.

In the end, you should never forget the difficulties and obstacles the Quaid-i-Azam had to face in the achievement and later on in laying the foundat'on of Pakistan, so that she may live for ever, and by the grace of God, it is so strong that it has stood the mightiest avalanche and no power on earth has been able to shake it and, Inshallah, it will live for ever."

198. MESSAGE ON QUAID-I-AZAM'S BIRTHDAY, 1966

The following message was issued by Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah on the occasion of Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday in December, 1966.

(Editor)

"Today we are celebrating Quaid-i-Azam's birthday. On this auspicious occasion we should try to understand the significance of the ideals he stood and worked for. You have to revive the spirit he inculcated in you and allow it to vitalise every nerve of national life.

Here I would like to mention some aspects of Quaid-i-Azam's leadership and the lessons we can learn from it. He was intensely human personality. He used human resources, human qualities and human means to achieve his ideal. By patient cultivation of his talents and energies, by sheer dint of industry and determination he rose to the highest rung of the ladder both in his profession and public life. He depended on nothing but his faith and his efforts. Before preaching to others he disciplined his own mind and emotions and developed a quality of self-restraint. His outstanding achievement was his own character which rested on clean living, honest thinking, incorruptible integrity, passion for selfless service unwavering attachment to moral ends and ethical principles irrespective of mundane considerations.

It was this character which gave him the strength and force that accounted for his triumphs in the face of stupendous difficulties and obstacles. Whatever he as a leader lacked in the way of material resources, was made up for by the moral strength that comes from faith and character. His example is a precious legacy to the nation. Take inspiration from his life and you will be able to overcome all obstacles and solve all your problems provided you act with faith, honesty and determination.

THE ISSUES

The issues at home are essentially moral and political. Is there or is not there a supreme moral code that should control the ambit of our temporal laws, or is absolute power the only sanction behind so-called laws, and executive orders? Institutions are mere cloaks to make a mockery of democracy and sovereign rights of the people. Are we going to live eternally under

the continuous experiment of controlled and decontrolled democracy or are we going to reap the fruits of freedom after all?

These are some of the fundamental questions governing our polity and political institutions, and public conduct to which a moral answer is to be provided. Let therefore every Pakistani search his heart and come out with a clear conscience and a straight answer.

We the people of Pakistan understand clearly and well that freedom to govern ourselves is an essential pre-requisite to our status of an independent country. To the Musalman every action, every breath, every heart-beat and every step has but one resolve and that is freedom to govern. This cannot be achieved until every adult has a right to choose directly his representative. People cannot exhaust their right of franchise merely by electing their representatives in local bodies, Unions and Councils.

In the economic field only a few have been benefited and the country today is stinking with the polluted air of corruption and jobbery. What has the common man gained by it? Let me tell you that corruption does not start at the bottom. It has no ascending powers Like snow it melts. It is frozen at the top and only when thaw sets in, it trickles down in streams and channels which follow their own course and cannot benefit the entire extent of the land. I hope that you will see that corruption is rooted out. I expect from you that you will not fail the country, that you will spread the light everywhere that you spare no energy to work for the cause, which is dear to you and fulfil the mission which Quaid-i-Azam visualised.

199. EID-UL-FITR MESSAGE, 1967.

The following is the text of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah's message issued on the eve of Eid-ul-Fitr in January, 1967.

(Editor)

"On the happy occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, I send my greetings to the nation and the Mussalmans all over the world. Man according to the Holy Quran, is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril. But his stature of manhood can only be fully developed if he plunges himself into a vigorous life with all its difficulties and compensations. This, however, is not an easy thing to do. It requires considerable courage, character and self-possession, qualities which develop in man the essential human resistance against temptation, qualities which are cumulatively known as the self. It is this self that helps one to rise above fear and flattery. It gives one the strength to fight the little battles of life. It imparts preseverance, determination and boldness.

Islam is not only a religion governing human relations with God but it is a complete code of conduct governing civilization based on equality, fraternity and justice. The Holy Quran was bestowed upon us during the Lailatul Qadr. Pakistan came into being in the Holy month of Ramazan 21 years ago. In the shape of Pakistan we achieved freedom from political dependence. Pakistan's history is the history of trials, tribulations and triumphs.

As honourable citizens, it is obligatory on us to demonstrate that democracy is a way of life with us and that we are not in favour of any control or restrictions. We must play our part fairly but none the less fearlessly.

Let every one cast off the fear that is being instilled in the mind of common man and let every man spread the message of freedom, democracy, and social justice in the remotest corner of Pakistan. We cannot raise our prestige when our political supporters are to be kept hanging around the palace by distribution of industrial permits, import licences and corridor practices.

Just as 21 years ago we were passing through a political crisis, we are faced with a grave moral crisis. Greed for material acquisitions lust for power and position and hunger for soft luxuries are blinding our people. Values which Islam taught us, such as fear of God, respect for truth and justice,

regard for the rights and dignity of our fellow beings, pride in honest work and industry, love of knowledge and learning are either being destroyed or are threatened with destructions. For the help of the society and well-being of the individual, all efforts should be made to hold on to these values and they in turn will take us to heights of glory in body, mind and spirit and that is what the ideology of Pakistan aims at.

The Eid, therefore, is an Eid of this resolve to re-dedicate ourselves to the cause of Pakistan and sovereign right of the people of Pakistan. We must march forward because there can be no defeat of the people who alone in the ultimate analysis matter in a democratic country."

200. MESSAGE ON EID-UL-AZHA, 1967

The following is the text of Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah's message to the nation issued on the eve of Eid-ul-Azha in March, 1967. This was the last warning given by Quaid-i-Azam's sister to the nation to beware of imperceptible stangulation of Pakistan by hostile forces and her last appeal to the nation to come back on the right path.

(Editor)

"On this auspicious day of Eid-ul-Azha, I extend my heartiest greetings to our people and my brethern in faith all over the world. This holy day signifies the importance of a noble and paramount cause for the attainment of which no difficulties and problems were worthy of consideration, and no sacrifice howsoever extreme and intense it may be, was regarded greater and painful. This is the glorious lesson of Islam which is a beacon light for all of us and for all times to come.

Imbued with the spirit of sincerity, service and sacrifice, we created history in the world and carved out a destiny of our own and a homeland of our people in the teeth of opposition and heavy odds This unparalleled achievement was due to our firm belief that in Pakistan there would be functioning of democracy from people's mayorship of the corporation to the highest office of the country.

I am sure that the conduct of the people would demonstrate that they are not in need to be instructed and that their genius calls for nothing but freedom and democracy devoid of crippling curbs and strangling controls. That they cherish progressive institutions like a sovereign Parliament, a free Press and an independent Judiciary, that they are prepared to stand by them to guard and preserve their dignity and honour.

We worked and fought for Pakistan so that we and the coming generations may live therein freely and in honour, to lead simple, honest and purposeful lives and not to suffocate in an atmosphere laiden with fear and reeking with corruption.

Let us, therefore, build the real Pakistan as dreamed by hundred million Muslims and their leaders who conceived, worked for and achieved it. I am confident that heart of the nation is sound, and invoking Almighty Allah's blessings I ask every one to give a helping hand so that we may in the real

sense make Pakistan the land of our faith, our pride, our glory and our destiny.

Many are the crying needs of the day. The refugees are in torments. Last week during the two days of rainfall improvised hutments with their belongings were washed away. The poverty stricken millions were wailing. It is indeed very painful to note that even after 20 years of achievement of Pakistan this problem is not solved. It is time that top priority was iven to it.

During the last few years Pakistan has been facing a situation which involves slow but imperceptible strangulations by hostile forces. Though of late, there has been some realisation of this dangerous state of affairs, no serious attempt has been made to cope with it and pull the country out of this danger. After all we, who fought and wrested our freedom from two forces, cannot allow ourselves to be slowly strangulated putting an end to our existence as a free people.

The immediate task before you is to face the problem and bring the country back on the right path with the bugles of Quaid-i-Azam's message. March forward under the banner of star and the crescent with unity in your ranks, faith in your mission and discipline. Fulfil your mission and a great sublime future awaits your enthusiasm and action. Remember "cowards die many times before death, the valiant never tastes death but once." This is the only course of action which suits any self-respecting people and certainly the Muslim Nation."

SPEECHES OF MISS FATIMA JINNAH

INDEX

(LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS)

B. C.	*stands*	*for*	Broadcast (Radio speech)
B. D.	,,	,,	Basic Democracies.
E.	,,	,,	East.
E. N.	,,	,,	Editor's Note.
F. J.	,,	,,	Fatima Jinnah.
G. G.	,,	,,	Governor General.
P. E.	,,	,,	Presidential Election.
Q. A.	,,	,,	Quaid-i-Azam.
S. C.	,,	,,	Sub-Continent.
Sts.	,,	,,	Students.
W.	,,	,,	West.

INDEX

TO

SPEECHES OF MISS FATIMA JINNAH

A

I

J

K

L

M

N

O

P

Q

R

S

T

U

W

Y

Z

(اردو انڈکس)
(تقاریر مادر ملت محترمہ فاطمہ جناح)

مخففات

ر۔ک	رجوع کیجیے (دیکھیے)
ف ۔ ج	فاطمہ جناح ' مادر ملت
ق ۔ ا	قائد اعظم

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ERRATA

Page.	*Line.*	*Incorrect.*	*Correct.*
41	24	Fquality	Equality
55	9—10	constitu- tutional	constitu- tional
71	35	cnsure	ensure
71	14	organisatton	organisation
101	8	demococy	democracy
102	5	Zarkat	Zakat
109	(Cap.)	JInnah's	Jidnah's
109	3 (E. N.)	1957	1955
126	13	peopie	people
130	14	llves	lives
143	1	conttnue	continue
175	22	responsibilies	responsibilities
192	17	law	low
192	29	counry	country
204	12	Pakis-	Pakistan
222	8	ufortunate	unfortunate
249	1	richiy	richly
316	7	mo e	more
332	13	associted	associated
407	16	او	اور
433	10	د ره	دوره
433	11	خط ب	خطاب
458	1(E.N.)	Mlllat	Millat
464	4	hearties	heartiest